



Photo by Jane Melnick

Chicago schools shuffle forward, moaning the Busing Blues

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THE INSIDE STORY



Boris Rabbot

Wide World

War or Peace?

Last week, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance met with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko in Washington to discuss the stalemate in the SALT disarmament talks. Unless the U.S. backs down from its "comprehensive proposal" of last March, no agreement is likely. Even the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* now acknowledge that the first Carter proposal asked the Soviets to reduce their areas of strength while not offering similar concessions.

If no agreement is reached, then the 1972 SALT accords freezing the deployment of new missiles will expire on October 3. The only limitation upon new arms construction and deployment will be the 1972 agreement to limit anti-ballistic missile construction and a statement of intent from the U.S.

This sad state of affairs will be hailed by Henry Jackson and the members of the Committee against the Present Danger who have argued that the Soviet Union is seeking world domination through military superiority and that the U.S. cannot sign any agreement that limits its ability to compete with the Soviets.

The failure to reach an agreement will not, however, please Soviet dissidents Boris Rabbot and Alexander Yanov.

Rabbot and Yanov are Soviet Jews who recently emigrated to the U.S. because they feared persecution for their political views. Rabbot claims to have been an advisor to a member of the Soviet Central Committee and to have been privy to the deliberations of the Central Committee and the Politbureau. Yanov, who holds a doctorate in history, was a freelance journalist who travelled through the Soviet Union for 20 years writing on Soviet life and the economy.

Neither could be described as a friend of the Soviet state, but both have recently published analyses of Soviet policy toward detente that contradict Jackson's view and buttress the views of American arms control moderates who have argued that the U.S. should press ahead with detente.

Split among Soviet leaders.

Rabbot portrays the Soviet leadership in the '60s and '70s as divided on their estimate of what the U.S. wanted from detente:

•The Soviet military and the heads of the defense

industry and the Stalin-era *apparatchiki* on the central committee and in the KGB believe that the U.S. introduced detente to exacerbate the Sino-Soviet split and to destroy the Soviet system through "introducing profoundly liberalizing social change."

•The "creative intelligentsia," symbolized for Rabbot by Andrei C. Sakharov, and Brezhnev and his allies on the Politburo, believes that the U.S. was genuinely seeking to reduce the threat of nuclear war.

The first group has opposed arms control and, according to Rabbot, even contemplated a pre-emptive strike against China in 1968; the second group has backed arms control and detente.

Yanov makes a similar distinction. On one side he puts the "military-industrial complex" and the "little Stalins," the ministers who wield political control over the Soviet economy and life. On the other side, he puts the managers, the intelligentsia, and the "central administration" of the country.

But Rabbot and Yanov stress that while each group sought arms reduction, each sought different by-products from detente. The intelligentsia expected that detente would eventually lead to the greater infusion of Western ideas and the liberalization of society. The managers thought that the import of Western technology would encourage decentralization and local autonomy in industry.

Soviet leadership was concerned with raising Soviet productivity and encouraging economic growth (in the early '60s, Soviet economists had become convinced that the flagging Soviet growth and productivity was due to the stifling centralization and low worker morale) without paying the price of encouraging local autonomy, according to Rabbot and Yanov. Particularly after Czechoslovakia, the Soviet leaders feared the political forces that a decentralization of the economy might create. They therefore sought the solution to the Soviet economic problems in Western technology, which was to be purchased through trade agreements.

The leadership also expected that with arms control, they could devote more of production to consumer goods. That way they could raise workers' standards of living and cut short dissatisfaction with the Soviet political system.

In this respect, according to Rabbot and Yanov, Brezhnev always sought detente as an alternative to liberalization. But both argue that in the long run detente would have the effect that the managers and intelligentsia rather than Brezhnev seek from it.

Brezhnev taken ill.

According to Rabbot, Brezhnev prevailed until 1974. The first SALT agreement was signed in 1972, along with a Soviet-American trade pact that would grant the Soviet Union the same "most favored nation status" (exemption from tariffs, the granting of export credits) that other nations enjoyed. In Brezhnev's report to the 24th Congress in 1971, Yanov even notes a proposal that would favor consumer goods over military production.

But the passage of the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the trade agreement set back Brezhnev and his allies. The amendment stipulated that most-favored-nation status would only be granted to "non-market societies" if they allowed unrestricted emigration, a provision aimed at the Soviet refusal to allow unrestricted Jewish emigration.

The Soviet Union abrogated the agreement on the grounds that it would accept no interference in its internal affairs. According to Rabbot, the "conservatives" saw the amendment as confirming their distrust of American motives.

Rabbot ascribes Brezhnev's illness and retreat to his

dacha from December 1974 to April 1975 to the "political virus" he contracted from the Jackson-Vanik amendment. During that period, Alexander Shelepin, whom Rabbot calls Brezhnev's "most serious opponent," used the new political climate to advocate Soviet "volunteers" being sent to Portugal. Upon his return, according to Rabbot, Brezhnev was forced to compromise by agreeing to have the Cubans send soldiers to Angola.

Carter creates new crisis.

Yanov's analysis appeared before Carter's policies became clear. Rabbot's inside analysis ends in early 1976, when he lost his post and chose to emigrate. But Rabbot hypothesizes that Carter's human rights campaign must have caused a new crisis among the Soviet leadership.

Rabbot warns that the continuation of the human rights campaign and the "comprehensive" SALT proposal will be construed in the Soviet Union as another attempt to use detente to attack the Soviet Union politically. "Brezhnev and his apparatus," Rabbot says, "may see Carter as somehow comparable to Lenin in the early '20s, when he addressed the opposition movements in other countries over the heads of their leaders, hoping to set off a worldwide revolution... but in [Carter's] case, the goal is not revolution, but the imposition of the American standard of freedom over the globe, including in Russia."

Both Yanov and Rabbot urge the U.S. to come to terms with Brezhnev, the alternative being the abandonment of detente and even greater conservatism within the Soviet Union. Yanov goes so far as to warn of a Soviet "Nazism" that would attempt to purify and seal off the Soviet Union.

Both reject the American view that the Soviet Union is bent on "world domination." Rabbot testifies that he has read secret military documents that proved to him that the Soviet Union's military strategy is defensive and that the Soviet Union has no plans for a military attack on the U.S. Yanov argues that this is not even a goal of the Russian right wing.

No black and white.

Both Rabbot and Yanov belong to the school of Soviet dissidents who have abandoned Marxism and socialism because they identify them with the Soviet variety, but who have not clearly opted for the alternative of capitalism. They illustrate in themselves Yanov's warning to see the differences in the Soviet Union as "multicolored" and not "black and white."

While they speak of a "left," "center," and a "right" within the Soviet leadership, they equate democratization with the left, but Soviet support for the MPLA in Angola with the right.

They also have a deep cynicism when assessing the motives of Soviet leaders and allow them little idealism. Yanov, for instance, stresses that the leaders and managers are particularly interested in the importation of Western luxuries.

But from the standpoint of American coldwarriors, that makes their testimony about Brezhnev's motives all the more credible and challenging. It is no wonder that after Rabbot's analysis appeared, questions were raised about whether he was a Soviet "plant" delivered to the U.S. in order to win friends.

Both the *Washington Post's* Robert Kaiser and the *Manchester Guardian's* Victor Zorza wrote articles vouching for his authenticity.

Boris Rabbot's report appeared in the Washington Post, July 24. Alexander Yanov's analysis was published as a pamphlet, Detente after Brezhnev, by the University of California.

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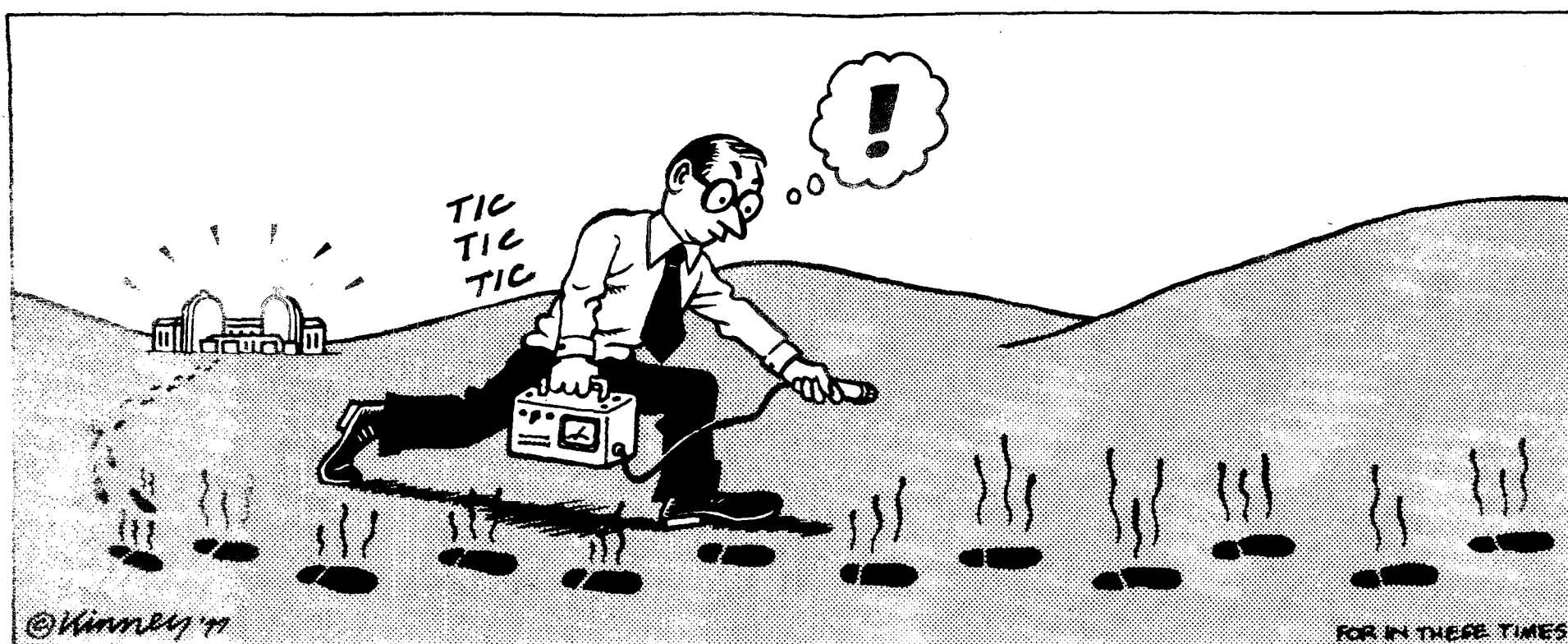
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Nuclear materials missing

“This is the kind of subject that sends chills up my spine,” muttered Rep. John Dingell (D-Mich.) as he prepared to convene a special August session of the House Subcommittee on Energy and Power.

Dingell's chilling subject was the effectiveness of the nuclear safeguards program for weapon-grade uranium and plutonium. A report in his possession disclosed that tons of nuclear material were missing, and Dingell's investigatory staff had “strong suspicions” that at least part of the valuable uranium and plutonium had been stolen and clandestinely shipped to Israel in the mid '60s.

More disturbing still, at least some of the evidence implicated the Central Intelligence Agency in the theft.

Although officials are still tight-lipped about the case, this information is now the foundation for at least two congressional investigations, a Justice department probe and quiet inquiries by American intelligence officials.

These allegations, however, are only the latest of a long series of troubling disclosures about the government's accounting system for weapon-grade nuclear material. Just last year the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which licenses nuclear corporations, reported that security measures at all 15 domestic manufacturers and processors of uranium and plutonium failed to meet minimum federal safeguards standards.

Enough missing for 1000 bombs.

Another round in the matter came on August 9 when federal officials from the Energy Research and Development Administration and the NRC conceded that they cannot locate upwards of 17 tons of U-235, U-233 and Pu-239, referred to as Special Nuclear Material or SNM.

It's enough fissionable material to arm more than 1,000 atomic bombs packing the explosive power of the device dropped over Hiroshima in 1945.

Only 5 kilograms (11 pounds) of en-

riched Uranium-235 or 2 kilograms (4.4 pounds) of Plutonium-239 are needed to build a crude nuclear device.

The revelations taint both the American military program and the civilian nuclear program, almost all of which is controlled by private companies.

On the military side ERDA officials disclosed that they cannot account for 16 tons of SNM at atomic bomb factories at Oak Ridge, Tenn. and Portsmouth, Ohio.

Under intense questioning, moreover, ERDA Acting Administrator Robert Fri conceded before Dingell's subcommittee that the 16 ton figure “was only an estimate” and that the loss could be higher.

Dingell himself was not satisfied. He charged that both ERDA and the NRC were still withholding data on the real magnitude of the problem. “There are now two accountability issues,” he complained. “First, there is the problem of material which is unaccounted for and then there is the new problem of material which is unaccounted for but which is not reported as being unaccounted for.”

The phrase “Material Unaccounted For” or MUF is only one of the terms used by the government for nuclear material they cannot locate. Recently ERDA euphemistically recategorized the missing Special Nuclear Materials as merely an “Inventory Discrepancy” or ID.

“Diversion” to Israel.

By far the most serious allegation involves a privately-owned nuclear processing plant in Pennsylvania. Congressional investigators and internal federal documents released under the Freedom of Information Act indicate that in the mid '60s 178 kilograms, or about 400 pounds, of highly enriched Uranium-235 was stolen from the Nuclear Material and Equipment Corporation (NUMEC) in Apollo, Pa.

At the time of the diversion the now

defunct Atomic Energy Commission had approved a NUMEC research and development contract with the Israeli Ministry of Defense. Ostensibly the material that NUMEC was to send to Israel was Cobalt-60 portable irradiators.

But as others tell it, NUMEC supplied the crucial atomic bomb material, valued at \$1.1 million, to Israel for its secret Dimona nuclear facility. According to *New York Times* correspondent David Burnham, “A former top level intelligence official said he had once seen a report that Israel had stolen nuclear material.”

Michael Ward, an aide to Rep. Dingell, told reporters on August 9 that he had “strong suspicions that a diversion occurred” at the NUMEC plant.

Rep. Morris Udall (D-Ariz.), who is also investigating missing nuclear material as head of the House Energy and Environment Subcommittee, said in an interview for *In These Times*, “We may never know whether there was a diversion, but it's darn hard to prove that there wasn't.”

Graver still, there is a widespread belief among investigators that the CIA may have had some involvement in the clandestine shipment to Israel. Government sources who subscribe to that theory say the material may have been covertly taken from the NUMEC plant on the basis of directives from high-level officials from the Johnson Administration.

Kenneth Chapman, who until late last year was director of NRC's Nuclear Material Safety and Safeguards division also suggests that there must have been “some very high level involvement in the diversion.”

Information withheld.

Last July a nuclear safeguards expert who was probing the Apollo case for the NRC was summarily transferred from his job after he charged in internal memos that his division was not getting access to classified information “held by other agencies” that could prove whether the Apollo security system had

been penetrated.

The official, James H. Conran, a senior analyst in Chapman's division, discovered that the documents dealing with the Apollo incident were still considered “highly sensitive” over ten years after the loss was detected by the AEC.

According to a summary of enforcement problems at the NUMEC facility, the case was referred by the AEC to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1966. But for reasons that have not been explained, the FBI declined to investigate.

This year, as the Apollo scandal began to surface, the Justice department reopened the case for review, and, according to knowledgeable government sources, the matter now rests with Attorney General Griffin Bell. Bell's office has declined to comment on the present disposition of the case.

The NUMEC incident raises basic questions about the ability of the government and private contractors to safeguard nuclear facilities from theft, nuclear critics say.

“I'm deeply troubled with the prospect of a great expansion of nuclear power plant production,” says Udall. “If with just a few nuclear plants we can't even keep track of nuclear material, I really fear for where we'll be if the world gets a couple of thousand nuclear plants and a large number of breeder reactors.”

NRC's director of the Division on Safeguards, Carl H. Builder, warned last year in an internal memo that existing security at all commercial Special Nuclear Material plants was inadequate. “Safeguards are not adequate against the lowest levels of design threat that have been suggested,” he concluded.

The problem may become even more serious if commercial reprocessing of spent nuclear fuel is licensed for the controversial breeder reactor. Enough nuclear material would then be produced each year to arm over 1,000 nuclear bombs.

Richard Pollock is director of the Critical Mass Energy Project in Washington, D.C.

A flurry of recent government studies has revealed that tons of nuclear material cannot be located, enough to manufacture thousands of nuclear bombs. There are indications that some of it was sent to Israel in the '60s.



Bert Lance is the definite Washington outsider, while Clark Clifford (in the background) is the ultimate insider. Only an issue of extreme importance could bring the two together.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Economic policy underlies the Bert Lance issue

By Alan Wolfe

Clark Clifford is the ultimate Washington insider, a man who serves his country by gaining the confidence of presidents and subtly shifting their views around to his. Bert Lance is a definite outsider, a gregarious and public figure whose loyalty is neither to a class nor a system but to one man. Yet these two men, so different in every respect, sat together in mid-September facing a Senate committee that seemed unsure of what it wanted to ask. The issue that brought together a Clifford and a Lance in a unified front must have been a serious one indeed.

That issue was not sloppy banking practice. Lance was undoubtedly right to claim that he did nothing contrary to the mores of his profession. Gigantic firms like Chase Manhattan can cringe at the folksiness of Lance's practices while in Georgia, but this is the way smalltimers operate. Nor was the issue the administration of the Office of Management and Budget, since Lance left the professionals there in charge.

Carter stayed loyal to Lance to the point of political damage to himself. Why did this politically astute president not force Lance's resignation sooner?

There is a reason for the long delay in Lance's departure. It has to do with the question of the role government should play in the economy and the importance of Lance's answer to it.

During the New Deal economists close to the Democratic party began to discover how valuable government could be in preventing serious disturbances in the economy. When defense spending during World War II brought the U.S. out of the Depression, they realized that from this moment on the economy and the state were inextricably linked.

But the question of the form that government spending should take to preserve prosperity was not so clear. Some argued that the purpose of government spending should be to redistribute income in order to win popular support for the system. Others suggested that since it did not matter how the money was spent—the important thing was simply macro-economic stimulation—spending the money on matters dear to the hearts of businessmen would win their support, something crucial to the Democratic party if it was to remain in power.

Clark Clifford was a key advocate of domesticated Keynesianism and promoted defense spending as an ideal way to stimulate the economy and win establishment support for the Democratic party at the same time. Based in part on his advocacy, Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson all chose Keynesian techniques that involved business stability more

Continued on page 11

LABOR

Prospects for a military union setback

Congress is out to prevent any form of military organizing

By Michael Uhl and
Tod Ensign

The effort to unionize the armed forces suffered a major setback in early September when it was announced that locals of the American Federation of Government Employees (AFL-CIO), the union contemplating the drive, had voted four to one against implementing the controversial unionization plan.

AFGE's decision was apparently influenced by the near-unanimous opposition to military unions that has been gathering momentum on Capitol Hill and in the Pentagon. Many AFGE members were also reluctant to undertake a new organizing commitment because they feel the union is not doing an adequate job representing its current membership.

In the two months before AFGE called it quits both the Defense department and the Senate Armed Services Committee launched comprehensive attacks on unionizing activity by uniformed servicemembers.

On August 15 Defense Secretary Harold Brown issued a new set of regulations designed to severely cripple, if not totally suppress, any organizing attempt. The new regulations prohibit commanders from bargaining with any group representing GIs, and bars individual soldiers from conducting strikes, work stoppages or any concerted activity that "obstructs or interferes with the performance of military assignments."

In the Senate South Carolina's Strom

Thurmond attacked Brown's administrative directives for not going far enough and introduced a bill to outlaw military unions. The report accompanying his bill (S.274) offers Thurmond's reasoning: "The directives, while suggesting the urgency of the problem, cannot provide direct sanctions against the unions themselves."

Brown, however, defended his preference for regulations by arguing that legislative efforts would be more vulnerable to "adverse court decisions" that might lead to greater restrictions on the military's ability to suppress union activity than exists at present.

Thurmond's bill, however, with 50 Senate sponsors, has the lead in the race to outlaw GI efforts toward self-organizing and labor's desire to expand its territory. S.274 was unanimously approved by Thurmond's colleagues on the Armed Services Committee, including two erstwhile "doves," Gary Hart (D-Colo.) and Tom Culver (D-Ia.).

On September 16, the bill was approved by the full Senate, with only three "no" votes (McGovern, Metcalf, and Abourezk). The AFL-CIO, according to one Senate staffer, made "no effort" to defeat the anti-union measure.

The bill now moves to the House, where no significant opposition is anticipated. Jimmy Carter has taken no public position on the legislation.

The implications of the Thurmond legislation are much broader than they appear to be on first reading, say critics, who argue that the bill poses a threat to the rights of GIs, trade unionists and civilian organizers. Specifically, they charge that rights to free speech, assembly, association and petition are seriously undermined by the bill's terms.

The bill, they say, is also an attack on

the network of anti-militarist activists and counsellors that has grown up since the anti-war activities of the '60s. This loosely-coordinated network has provided individual servicemembers with support and representation in conflicts with the command structure.

Thurmond's bill strikes at these groups by presenting a sweeping definition of "labor organization." Under the bill any group that has as one of its objectives, "the participation in the process of resolving individual complaints or grievances in the chain of command," is deemed a "labor organization" and subject to the act's criminal sanctions.

Not only can't unions sign up GIs as members, but the existing right of National Guard and Reserve "technicians" to union representation will also be withdrawn under S.274's provisions. This will affect over 60,000 federal employees who work in "dual status" where membership in a Guard or Reserve unit with part-time duty in uniform is a condition of employment. Warning that this "germ of unionization" might infect the whole military, the bill strips these workers of their union membership and contracts.

The anti-union campaign in Congress has been assisted by the public relations efforts of two far-right organizations: Americans Against Union Control of Government and the Heritage Foundation's Americans Against Big Labor. Using mail and polling techniques originally developed by the George Wallace campaigns, these two groups mailed millions of "opinion surveys" that condemn the "unchecked menace" of public employee unionism. Soliciting the addressee's response to heavily-biased questions like, "Should soldiers disobey

lawful orders due to demands from union officials?", the "surveys" include a strong pitch by Senators Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) or Jake Garn (R-Utah) for funds to operate a multi-million dollar anti-union crusade.

However the anti-union legislation fares in the months ahead, military union proponents say that it will not alter the underlying conditions of military life that spawn pro-union sentiments. "It will do no good for Congress," says AFGE's Pres. Ken Blaylock, "to ban unionization and proceed headlong, ignoring signals being sent by rank and file military personnel." Such signals, observers say, are flashing brighter than ever, with the frequency of unit-level punishments, volume of AWOLs, and rates of attrition prior to completion of normal duty tours, all at near-record levels.

During the Vietnam war, they say, the resistance of soldiers, including the ultimate refusal to carry out combat missions in the field, didn't depend upon directives from union stewards or civilian "agitators." While perhaps not as consciously "political" as their war-time predecessors, today's young trooper seems even less willing to endure the arbitrariness of command authority.

In an essay on contemporary service life, Professor Ezra S. Krendel refers to recent Navy research that studied criteria for enlistment among 16-22 year olds. It found that "fate control" or dislike for authoritarian leadership, petty regulations, and the illicit use of power, was the main consideration in any enlistment decision. If this is so, then we've not heard the last word on military unions from those who are directly affected.

Michael Uhl and Tod Ensign work with the New York-based Citizen Soldier.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Not addressing the real issues defeated Bella

On Monday, September 19, Democratic voters in New York City voted for mayoral candidates. It was their second election, following by 11 days a seven-way primary. Mario Cuomo, relatively unknown and backed by Gov. Hugh Carey, faced Rep. Edward Koch. Koch won with 55 percent of the vote, giving him the inside track to occupy the mayor's seat. He still faces a regular election battle, however, which will once again pit him against Cuomo, as the candidate of New York's Liberal party as well as a Republican challenger and assorted other candidates.

Left after the polls closed, however, was the question of what happened to Bella Abzug. Long considered the front runner in the mayoral race, Abzug came in fourth, behind Cuomo, Koch and present Mayor Abraham Beame.

Last week *In These Times* printed an article by Paul DuBrul, issues manager for Abzug, analyzing the election. This week we are printing an article by Jim Chapin, professor of history at University College of Rutgers University and the secretary of the New York state New Democratic Coalition, taking a different look at the campaign.

By Jim Chapin
According to Paul DuBrul, the victory of Ed Koch and the defeat of Bella Abzug mark a move to the right. The "shift to the right" has been a staple of the mass media for the last decade or more. I'm sorry to see Paul succumb to this analysis.

In fact, the voters in the New York democratic primary continue to be an extremely liberal group by any American standards: a plurality identified themselves as liberals, and only 25 percent as conservatives (the opposite of the figures for nationwide voters).

Thirty-five percent were Jewish, 25 percent were minority, and over 40 percent union members or members of union families. Except for a few social issues like the death penalty, their attitude towards basic economic questions remains on the "left." For example, they favored the city takeover of Con Edison by a plurality of 44 to 39 percent. (All figures are from polls taken by the Bella Abzug campaign and made available to this reporter.)

DuBrul apparently has forgotten that the winners of the last three New York mayoral primaries were Abe Beame (1965, lost to John Lindsay running as a Republican), Mario Procaccino (1969, lost to Lindsay running on the Liberal party line), and Abe Beame (1973, a victor). These primary victories hardly represent a "left" political trend.

A leftward trend.

It is true that there has been a general leftward trend among New York's Democratic voters. The vote for candidates on the "left" or "center-left" (which would include Koch in the current election, albeit as a law and order liberal) has consistently risen. In 1969 the candidacies of Herman Badillo, Norman Mailer and James Scheuer drew a combined 35 percent; in the present election the candidacies of Badillo, Percy Sutton, Bella Abzug and Ed Koch won 62 percent.

That the "left" component of this vote—represented by Badillo, Sutton and Abzug—is not yet a majority is also obvious. Combined they drew 42 percent, but polls done for Bella Abzug, the strongest of the three, on September 1 showed her losing to Koch by 13 points and to Cuomo by two points had she won a spot in the runoff. The day for a "left" majority in New York City may be approaching, but it is not yet here.

Liberals, minorities and polls.

DuBrul cites several other reasons for Bella's defeat:

• Rich liberal givers closed their checkbooks. But Bella raised close to \$700,000, almost exactly the same amount as Koch.

• Bella got "90 percent" of the minority vote in 1976 (the actual figure was about 50 percent) and was hurt by the presence of the two minority candidates in the race. But before she entered the race she knew that both of them were



The question was not Bella Abzug in the abstract, but whether Bella would make a good mayor. This was an issue she did not address.

running. Percy Sutton had announced long before she did, and Bella had promised Herman Badillo that she would support him for the job in exchange for his support in her Senate race last year.

• Power brokers of the city opposed Bella. What did she expect?

• Ed Koch read public opinion polls and told voters what they wanted to hear. If we accepted this argument, it would mean simply the voters agreed with what Koch said rather than with what Bella said.

• Koch was in favor of capital punishment, as were 80 percent of the voters. Bella's own polls, however, showed that capital punishment was not a key factor in the result. Less than two weeks before the election her polls showed that while the primary voters favored capital punishment by 64 to 26 percent, only 19 percent of the voters knew that Koch was for capital punishment, 11 percent thought he was against it, and 70 percent had no idea of his position.

Money and issues.

So what happened to Bella?

1. She spent her money badly. First, she set an unrealistic standard for what she could raise, expecting to raise about a million and a half dollars. This was a goal that only one candidate, Mario Cuomo, was able to reach, and that only after the incumbent governor twisted every arm he could reach.

Secondly, she allocated most of her money for field and vote pulling operations, rather than media. This was a rather strange choice for a candidate who had the most motivated voters in the city.

Money was not crucial to Bella's defeat. Koch won with the same kind of money.

2. Bella ran an issue-less campaign. This statement will infuriate any Bella supporter who will undoubtedly rush to point out that 62 issue papers were put out during the campaign. But this is to miss the point about what an issue is.

An issue must reach the perception of the voters. Admittedly, this is a terribly difficult task since it must be filtered through the roar of the mass media to the rather independent voter. (As an example of the unclarity of voter issues note the poll already cited about Koch and the death penalty.) An issue oriented campaign *must* be one that stresses two or three issues repeatedly throughout the campaign.

DuBrul complains of Koch's anti-union rhetoric, but fails to mention three interesting points: first, that even members of union families were anti-union; second, that by Bella's poll her supporters were more hostile to unions than those of the other three major candidates, and third, that attitudes towards the banks were as negative as those towards the unions.

Bella could have orchestrated a thematic campaign around opposition to the banks, but she did not seriously and persistently pursue such a campaign. Bella made the mistake of thinking that if she played a low-keyed "centrist" game, the large interests would not go after her. She also thought she could hold her own support without giving it any meat.

Most of the Koch gains came at the expense of Abzug. DuBrul does not attempt to explain this fact.

Problem of identification.

3. She did not address the real problem with her candidacy. Bella's own polls and telephone canvassing laid out the nature of the problem.

She paid for more than 500,000 calls to voters in heavy voting areas asking them their opinion of Bella Abzug; 130,000 of them answered positively. These voters were polled on election day, but as one Bella insider put it, "What we ended with was a list of liberals, not of Bella voters."

The question before the voters after all was not their opinion of Bella Abzug in the abstract, but whether they thought she should be mayor. Her polls show that the voters thought of her as a personality, as a fighter, as someone who stood up for her beliefs. But they also showed that she was seen as abrasive, incapable of compromise and a relatively poor administrator.

Bella should have run a media campaign speaking to these issues, as well as in opposition to the banks. She should have pointed out that her record as an administrator was a match for that of any of the other candidates.

The "fears" that DuBrul speaks of in the New York electorate were not of Bella Abzug's ideological views, but of her ability as a possible administrator. By the end of the campaign her own polls showed that Koch was seen as more of an articulator of issues than she was.

In other words, Bella had the wrong solution for her problem. She thought her problem was that she was too left-wing, so she tried to blur that image. But her real problem was a problem of personality and she failed to face up to it.

It is possible to argue that Abzug's campaign was too good for the voters (Mario Cuomo supporters are using the same line and they have even more to explain away than Bella's people). That, however, is hardly any excuse for a democratic politician.

Running for Bella.

Aside from the electoral results, did the rhetoric of the race move the city to the "right"? It is clear that it did. But I would argue that that is largely the result of the objective circumstances in which the city is at present.

The key decisions about the future of New York are being made outside of the arena of electoral politics. The voters know that these circumstances are far beyond the power of a mayor. If Bella thought differently, she failed to successfully articulate this position.

As one skeptical liberal put it, "Bella didn't run for the job of being mayor, but for the job of being Bella." She failed to convince a majority of the Democrats of the city that she should be mayor. In 1976 37 percent voted for her for the Senate; in 1977 only 17 percent voted for her for mayor. That was the bottom line.

WOMEN

Are police soft on wife-beaters?

By Ronnie Lovler and
George Anderson

When police broke into the New York apartment, they had to pry the husband's hands from around his wife's throat. The neighbors who had heard the screams were shouting: "Arrest him. He'll kill her."

The officers, however, limited themselves to advising the parties to "keep cool."

But the wife did not keep cool. She eventually joined 58 other battered wives in a class action suit—not against their husbands, but against New York City police officials and family court personnel. The women charge that the authorities denied them assistance either by refusal to arrest their husbands or to permit them access to a judge for a protection order.

The authorities, the women claim, are reluctant to interfere in what the officials often consider strictly domestic squabbles.

Feminist support groups currently are focusing national attention on the case of Roxanne Gay, a 25-year-old Clementon, N.J., student nurse who recently pleaded "not guilty" to the slaying of her husband whom she says repeatedly beat her.

According to her attorneys, Gay often called police when her husband, a burly professional football player, attacked her. The lawyers contend the police only made the husband leave the house to "cool off"—after which he would return and beat her again.

In Minneapolis the Harriet Tubman Shelter for Battered Women reports that a 19-year-old wife came in with 17 stitches in her upper lip after her husband beat her and threatened her mother. Although she filed charges against her husband, no action had yet been taken when she showed up at the shelter the next afternoon.

And in Chicago a woman told a task force on battered wives that she was denied help by police even after her husband gave her a beating so bad she had to be hospitalized for a week.

Authorities deny charges.

In New York the accused police officers and family court staffers deny the charges made against them by the battered wives. Joseph Halpern, attorney for the accused, described them as "sympathetic to women in these cases."

On the West Coast Lt. Patrick Boyle of the Richmond, Ca., police department says that in his 20 years of experience responding to domestic fights, "if anything, we take the woman's part." The problem, Boyle explains, is that the wife usually drops the charges after the husband has been hauled off to jail.

One high-ranking police official, however, maintains that most policemen approach the problem not with sympathy but with a set of preconceptions prejudicial to the wife. In a speech before the American Bar Association James Bannon, commander of the Detroit police department, said that police officers, most of whom are males, have been "socialized to regard females in general as subordinate."

As a result, those who respond to domestic disturbance calls are liable to arrive with a mind-set of the husband as the rightfully dominant partner.

Emily Goodman, a New York attorney who has handled battered wives cases, contends that some police officers actively discourage the pressing of charges by posing such questions as: Who will support you? What did you do to make him hit you in the first place? Do you realize what he may do to you the next time if you make trouble now?



A Maryland task force tells of the case of a woman whose husband knocked out four teeth when she woke him up. The judge ruled he had been provoked.

Selective law enforcement.

Support groups such as the New Jersey Women's Resource Center maintain that the problem of domestic violence is exacerbated by "selective law enforcement." They contend that home violence could be sharply reduced if the community demanded that police devote more manpower, training and auxiliary services to domestic disturbances.

A January NBC News poll indicated that 60 percent of all police calls are responses to domestic disturbances.

The women's organizations also maintain that domestic homicides—such as the Gay case—could be prevented in many cases if police took more decisive action.

The women underline the implication of a 1971 study made in Kansas City, Mo. The investigation found that in 85 percent of all domestic homicides within the city police had been called in at least once beforehand; in 50 percent of the murders police had been called five or more times previously.

Women's organizations are also accusing judges of prejudicial conduct and excessive leniency toward husbands.

A Montgomery County, Md. task force cites the case of a woman whose husband knocked out four of her teeth with a radio when she woke him for work. The judge who heard the case ruled that the husband had been "provoked" and therefore that his conduct did not constitute assault.

Even when a man is found guilty it is unusual for a judge to send him to jail.

In New York State, for example, where 80 percent of the 7,000 cases in the family court in 1975 were assault charges filed by wives against their husbands, only 34 resulted in conviction, usually with suspended sentences.

In one Washington, D.C.-area case a retired army colonel repeatedly struck his wife and then threw her down a flight of stairs in front of two onlookers. This attack had been preceded by six others during the previous year, including an attempt at strangulation. The judge handed down a \$500 fine and a 30-day suspended sentence.

The wife in this instance had witnesses—rare in such cases since beatings ordinarily take place in the privacy of the home and at night.

No nationwide statistics for wife beating arrests or convictions exist, and local statistics are rare. The Justice department's research division explains that police departments and district attorney offices generally lump such cases with overall felony assault and misdemeanor battery totals—another indication, women charge, of official insensitivity to the problem.

A tougher attitude.

A San Diego judge, however, has won the plaudits of women's groups. In what local officers of the National Organization for Women call a landmark Superior Court Judge Norbert Ehrenfreund

says he will try to discourage domestic violence by awarding immediate temporary restraining orders to victims.

The move would eliminate the need for San Diego County victims to file for divorce or criminal charges of assault and battery, currently a necessary precondition for securing such an order.

"The focus is as much on children," Ehrenfreund said, explaining his plan that would assign county conciliators to the couple after the order is granted. "I'm worried about the effect these fights and beatings have on children."

Promoted principally by feminist support groups, some dozen shelters for battered women have now opened across the U.S. The demand for their services—housing, legal aid and counseling—far exceeds the facilities available.

And state legislatures are beginning to act. In Brooklyn the Center for the Elimination of Violence in the Family received \$200,000 from the state government. Ten bills related to battered women are currently pending in New York with four others under consideration in New Jersey.

The efforts are "just a beginning," one woman put it, "but at least now we're on our way."

Ronnie Lovler is a New York-based freelance writer. George Anderson is a Jesuit priest who does chaplaincy work at New York City's Rykers Island House of Detention.

FOOD & LAND



Jane Melnick

A contradictory federal farm policy

The new farm bill resurrects the old acre reduction plan: less food, higher prices.

WASHINGTON—Wheat and feed grains in news-conscious Washington don't have much sex appeal when pitched against efforts to lance Bert and give the Panamanians back their property. Yet agricultural policy and problems have in recent weeks been vying with more glamorous events for headline space.

Congress recently put the final touches on a new farm bill, the Agricultural Act of 1977, and Jimmy Carter is expected to sign it shortly. In a related development, the Carter administration in late August took steps of its own, establishing a grain reserve and setting in motion a 20 percent reduction in wheat acreage.

This year's farm bill lumps together agricultural policy, food stamps and international food aid. But supports for farm prices and income are really its guts.

Target prices.

'Target prices' are the basic government device for the support of farm income. When market prices fall below the target, farmers receive a payment to raise their return to the target level.

The biggest point of contention in debate over the farm bill was how much target prices should be raised.

The target price for wheat was hiked from the present \$2.47 a bushel to \$2.90 for the 1977 crop and \$3.05 for 1978 if the harvest is 1.8 billion bushels or less, \$3.00 if the harvest is more than 1.8 billion bushels. The target price for corn was raised to \$2.00 a bushel for 1977 and \$2.10 for 1978.

These levels were a compromise between higher Senate and lower House targets. President Carter, fearing high budgetary costs, had threatened to veto an expensive Senate version of the bill, passed in May. This led to somewhat lower levels in the House version, passed in July. Faced with the loss of farm votes, Carter backed off on his veto threat.

Then on August 29 the administration announced two changes in its agricultural policies. First, farmers will be encouraged to plant 20 percent less wheat acreage next year. Government support payments will not be paid on any production over that reduced level. Second, a national grain reserve of 30 to 35 million metric tons of wheat, rice and feed grains will be established.

Chronic overproduction.

Both Carter and Congress are faced with a several-sided dilemma. The historic problem of American agriculture has been overproduction. Chronic excess capacity leads to falling prices. Farm income drops.

Since the New Deal, the federal government has used various means to restrict farm production and thereby boost market prices and farm income. In the farm legislation of 1973 target prices were introduced. The system, in theory, allows consumers to receive the benefits of full production and lower prices, while ensuring higher farm income.

The target system, since its inception, however, has almost never been used because of high market prices. But wheat and corn output hit all-time highs in 1976, and production in both those crops is expected to be almost as much in 1977. Prices are way down. Wheat, \$12 a bushel in 1973, has recently been below \$2. Corn is now \$1.75 per bushel, down from \$2.75 in 1976.

Thus the government payment system, particularly with the hikes in the new farm bill, is now going to be used in a big way. Predictions are that the \$2 billion cost of 1976 will go up to \$4.1 billion this year and \$5.4 billion in 1978.

Less production, higher costs.

The Carter administration's response is to revive an acreage reduction system. They hope that some balance can be reached between a big budget cost with moderate consumer prices, and lower budget outlays with a danger of renewed food price inflation.

One of the basic deficiencies of the new farm bill, the Carter plan, and all agricultural income policy so far is that while farmers have been guaranteed a floor, consumers have been promised no corresponding retail price ceiling.

At the same time the new farm bill's increases in target prices, despite their potential expense, do not cover present high costs of production. Wheat farmers put more than \$3.50 into each bushel, while corn producers invest about \$2.50 in a bushel. With market prices at \$2.60 for wheat and \$1.75 for corn, and with even the new target prices raising the farmer's total return per bushel to only \$3.00 for wheat and \$2.00 for corn, it's clear that there will be a 50 cent loss per bushel in both crops.

So the Agricultural Act of 1977 gives some help to farmers, but probably not enough. And the administration's plans, by restricting production anew, threaten to take away what little protection consumers might get from the target price system under full production.

The farm bill also fails in other ways. It raises to \$40,000 in 1978 and \$45,000 in 1979 the \$20,000 annual limit on total government payments to a single farmer. This change will contribute to the continued growth of large farms at the expense of small ones.

An effort to limit government support payments to family farmers failed. An effort to get the government out of the business of supporting tobacco failed. But a new sugar subsidy sailed through easily.

Food reserves.

On a brighter note, both Congress and the Carter administration decided to build a grain reserve. Reserves are

needed for international emergency relief and domestic easing of consumer prices in times of shortages.

The farm bill called for a reserve of 8 to 19 million metric tons of wheat and as much feed grain as the Secretary of Agriculture might find necessary. The administration plan establishes a 30 to 35 million ton stock of wheat, grains, and rice.

Farmers fear reserves. They feel that politicians susceptible to consumer complaints of inflation will dump reserve stocks on the market in order to depress prices. But consumers need that cushion, just as farmers need price supports.

In the area of food stamp reform the major change offered by the farm bill is elimination of the requirement that recipients pay for a certain value of stamps in order to get more free stamps. Instead of paying, for example, \$100 for \$200 in food stamps, eligible persons will simply get \$100 worth of stamps.

Food stamps were the only urban part of the so-called urban-rural alliance in the farm bill.

When Carol Foreman left her job as executive director of the Consumer Federation of America to become an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, the CFA staff gave her a copy of Grant Wood's painting, "American Gothic." That's the one of a farmer, his wife and pitchfork. The wife's face in this version was cut out and a picture of Foreman put in its place. Was this to be the beginning of a bright new day, a marriage of rural and urban interests?

It's more of an uneasy dating relationship. Farmers are not really willing to go along with all the desires of consumers, environmentalists, anti-hunger advocates and other such "dangerous" elements. But consumers, in the form of taxpayers, are not willing to foot a big bill for farm price supports. If a middle ground is possible, no one thus far seems to have traveled very far into it.

Joe Belden works with the Exploratory Project on Economic Alternatives and is the co-author of a recent study on national food and land policy.

IN THE WORLD

Carter vs. the Third World

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS SET OUT deliberately to challenge the image of the "Ugly American" that was recently reinforced by Henry Kissinger and by Daniel Moynihan's tirades against the Third World. In his major foreign policy address at Notre Dame in May, Carter emphasized his administration's commitment to "reducing the chasm between the world's rich and poor." But what has been the real record of the administration? Bruce Vandervort, a Geneva-based journalist who closely follows world economic deliberations, examines the Carter administration's record on a key issue: the Third World demand for a new international economic order.

GENEVA—The 1973 oil embargo launched a revolution in international affairs. The industrialized nations (grouped in the OECD or Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development), were rudely awakened to the dependence of their market economies upon imported raw materials, largely from Third World suppliers. The less developed countries saw the rise of OPEC as the emergence of a Third World power bloc with the economic clout to push for a more equitable distribution of the world's wealth.

In 1974, a coalition of developing and socialist nations rammed a resolution through the United Nations General Assembly committing the UN and its several agencies to laying the bases for what they called a "new international economic order." Since then a priority item on the Third World agenda has been a UN-sponsored Common Fund to stabilize the prices of some 10 to 18 key exports of developing countries. Price regulation would help flatten out the boom-bust cycle that characterizes commodity trading and would greatly reduce the ability of consumer nations to pit one Third World exporter against another to force prices down.

While the U.S. and its OECD allies have agreed that intelligent self-interest dictates greater equity in relations with their less developed trading "partners," they have been unwilling to accept the structural changes demanded by the Third World bloc.

This spring President Carter and Sec. of State Cyrus Vance seemed to signal a softening of past opposition to the Common Fund. Before leaving Washington to attend the London Economic Summit on May 7, Carter told reporters that his administration was committed to a "proper and fair use of raw materials . . . from less developed countries and to [sharing] with those less fortunate nations the bounties that God has given the world." Three weeks later, Sec. of State Vance informed delegates to the "North-South Dialogue" in Paris that the U.S. stood for a "new international economic system" built upon "equity, growth, and, above all, justice."

But closer examination reveals that the change in Carter's policies has been largely rhetorical.

Common fund controversy.

The Program for a Common Fund, as set forth at a tumultuous session of the

UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Nairobi in May 1976, would bind the current welter of individual commodity agreements (e.g., Sugar Agreement, Tin Agreement) into one comprehensive unit, internationally-administered and empowered to "manage" world trade in key commodities.

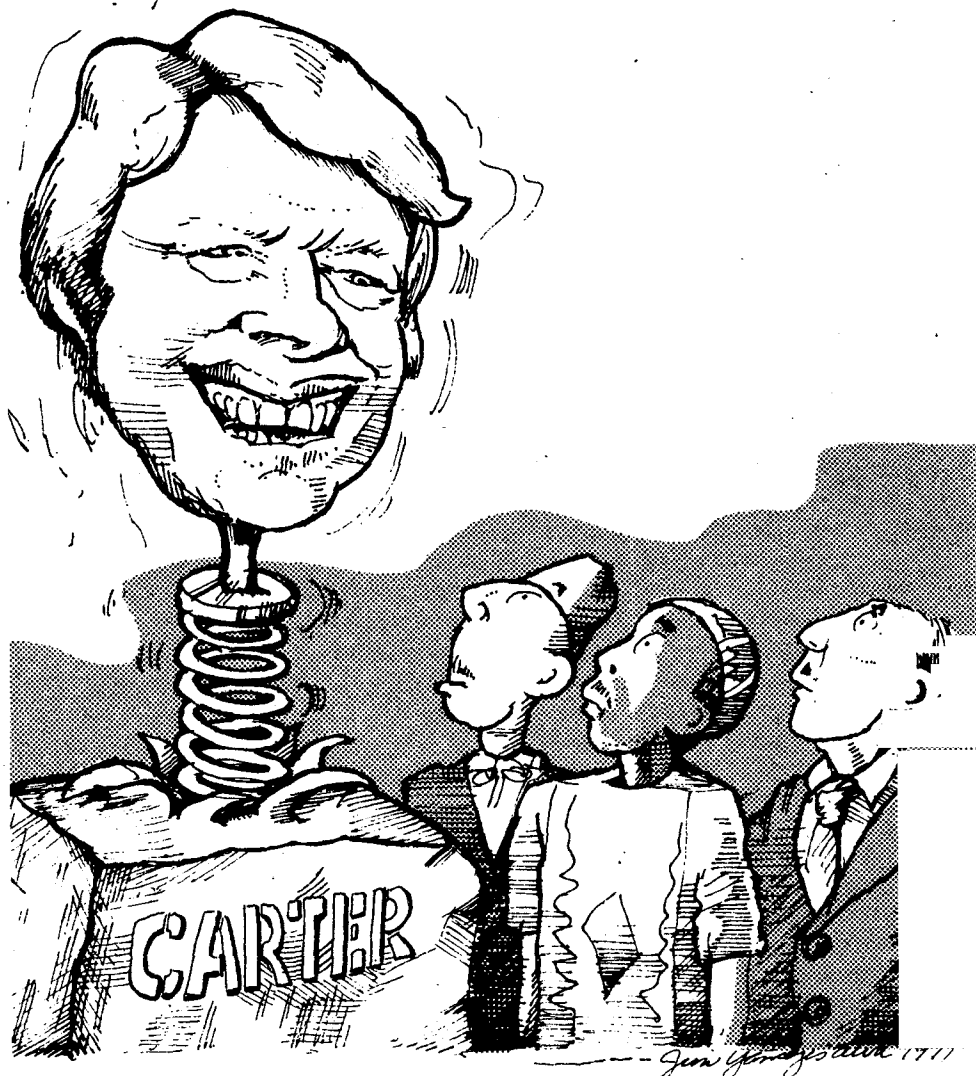
Through a fund capitalized by fixed contributions from governments involved and by loans obtained on the international money market, the Program would buy up and stockpile certain surplus commodities, to be sold off in times of scarcity. This kind of arrangement, UNCTAD estimates, would keep commodity price swings within the 20 percent range and prevent wild surges in coffee prices or things like last year's near collapse of the copper market. The cost: some \$6 billion to stock 10 commodities over the 1979-84 period, according to UNCTAD figures.

The program would also provide funding for improved production methods, market promotion and the diversification of national product mixes. This "second window" of the Common Fund has been endorsed by the least developed nations, who find drawing from UN sources more congenial than accepting the strings attached to loans from the IMF or World Bank, whose boards of directors are notoriously sensitive to OECD interests. Their reservations about taking money from these international lending agencies were underscored in early August, when the IMF warned that it might not help Peru meet external debt commitments because its military junta had put curbs on imports, presumably of finished goods from the industrialized bloc.

Carter promises change.

The Nixon/Ford Administration went thumbs down on the Common Fund/IPC at Nairobi on the grounds that its aim was to wreck the "free market" system of international trade. It took particular exception to the Fund "second window," because its financing would be regulated by a board weighted toward Third World representation, and thus not overly amenable to OECD wishes.

There were political considerations as well. The U.S. has always used its aid programs from the Marshall Plan to the Alliance for Progress and its control over international lending bodies as



clubs to keep order. The "second window" would reduce Third World dependence on OECD country aid and investments or loans. Besides, why risk angering the multinational corporations by helping developing countries to process and market their own raw materials?

On March 10, the American Head of Delegation, Stephen Bosworth, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Resources, told the first UNCTAD Common Fund Conference in Geneva that the Carter Administration held a "positive attitude" toward an "integrated approach" to commodity trade reform. A week later, Carter himself informed the UN General Assembly that the "United States is willing to consider . . . a common funding arrangement for financing buffer stocks where they are part of individual, negotiated agreements."

But action and rhetoric failed to coincide. Bosworth proceeded to stonewall in Geneva, and the Common Fund Conference was forced to adjourn without agreement on a single item on its agenda.

Keep away from UN.

Bosworth's stalling was a ploy to gain Washington sufficient time to put the final touches on its own program. The American position, now pretty much out in the open, goes back to the thesis that the survival of the world's market economies is closely linked to their maintenance of favorable terms of trade. To outrun the socio-political consequences of persistent "stagflation" and unemployment, these economies must continue to grow (remember Vance's formula for a "new" international economic system), and growth is difficult over the long haul without steady access to cheap supplies of raw materials and expanding markets for finished products.

The crux of American concern was spelled out with the utmost clarity in an address to the Council of the Americas by Fred Bergsten, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs. "The U.S.'s primary purpose in pursuing international commodity agreements," Bergsten said, "is to reduce the

risk of inflationary pressure at home."

The emerging American plan is a typical Carter/Vance meld of old ideas and new rhetoric. Behind a fresh smoke-screen of pastorals about "global interdependence," the old Nixon/Kissinger dream of lining up the consumer nations for a showdown with the suppliers lives on. With a new twist, of course.

No more John Connally's have been dispatched to Europe to put backbone into the European Economic Community jellyfish; Carter talks sweet reason to the Europeans and Japanese these days. And the Marines have discontinued their training for desert warfare; in the future, disputes with the producer countries will be settled at the bargaining table, not on the "shores of Tripoli."

However, not any old negotiating table will do. The U.S. has so far succeeded in channelling substantive trade talks away from the UN, where it is outgunned, and into the more genteel surroundings of the "North-South Dialogue" in Paris. Bosworth's stalling act in Geneva was for that purpose.

Souped-up Kissinger.

At the outset of the Conference, there had been a skirmish with a "Group of Like-Minded Nations" (the Benelux countries, Denmark, Finland and Norway, with Ireland and Sweden in the wings) that had wanted the EEC to go along with the UN/Third World version of the Common Fund. To block this maneuver, the U.S. called upon its No. 1 European "Trojan Horse," the Federal Republic of Germany. The Germans filibustered; the Community was obliged to resolve that a Common Fund "should be" set up, and that was all. The "Like-Minded" group folded and the Conference ended in deadlock.

The EEC "Like-Minded" contingent was also excluded from the Community's preparatory meeting for the London economic summit, with the result that the American position on trade relations prevailed at Downing Street. It surfaced again in Paris as the OECD bargaining package at the "North-South" encounter.

Continued on page 11

BRITAIN

Trade unions grant Labour a reprieve

Prime minister Callaghan came to the Trades Union Congress to keep something of labor's pact with the government. He got something, but a big strike may topple him.

By Mervyn Jones
LONDON—This year's meeting of the Trades Union Congress, held on Sept. 5-9, will be remembered as the week when people wanted to be kind to Prime Minister James Callaghan's government. The unions had already rejected pleas to keep wage rises for the coming year down to 10 percent, or any other imposed ceiling, and had proclaimed a return to free collective bargaining. There was therefore a general inclination to leave something of the Government's policy intact. After all, an election can't be far off and a total breach between the Labour Party and the unions can only help the Tories.

Callaghan himself, as the TUC's guest, made about the cleverest and most successful speech of his career. He said candidly, indeed bluntly, that the Government would still use all its influence—and its control over the public sector of industry—to keep wage rises down to the 10 percent level. But he promised: "The period of reduction of living standards is at an end. There will be no further reduction in our standard of living because we have worked our way through that situation." This formula neatly sidestepped the question of whether unions are entitled to regain the ground lost through the admitted reduction of 1976-7.

He went on to give a broad hint of reflationary measures for this fall, stressed the currently improving economic situation and the good prospects ahead, and warmly thanked the unions for their cooperation over the last two difficult years. He sat down to a standing ovation—to be interpreted not as an endorsement of everything he'd said, but as an assurance that party and union are still on friendly terms.

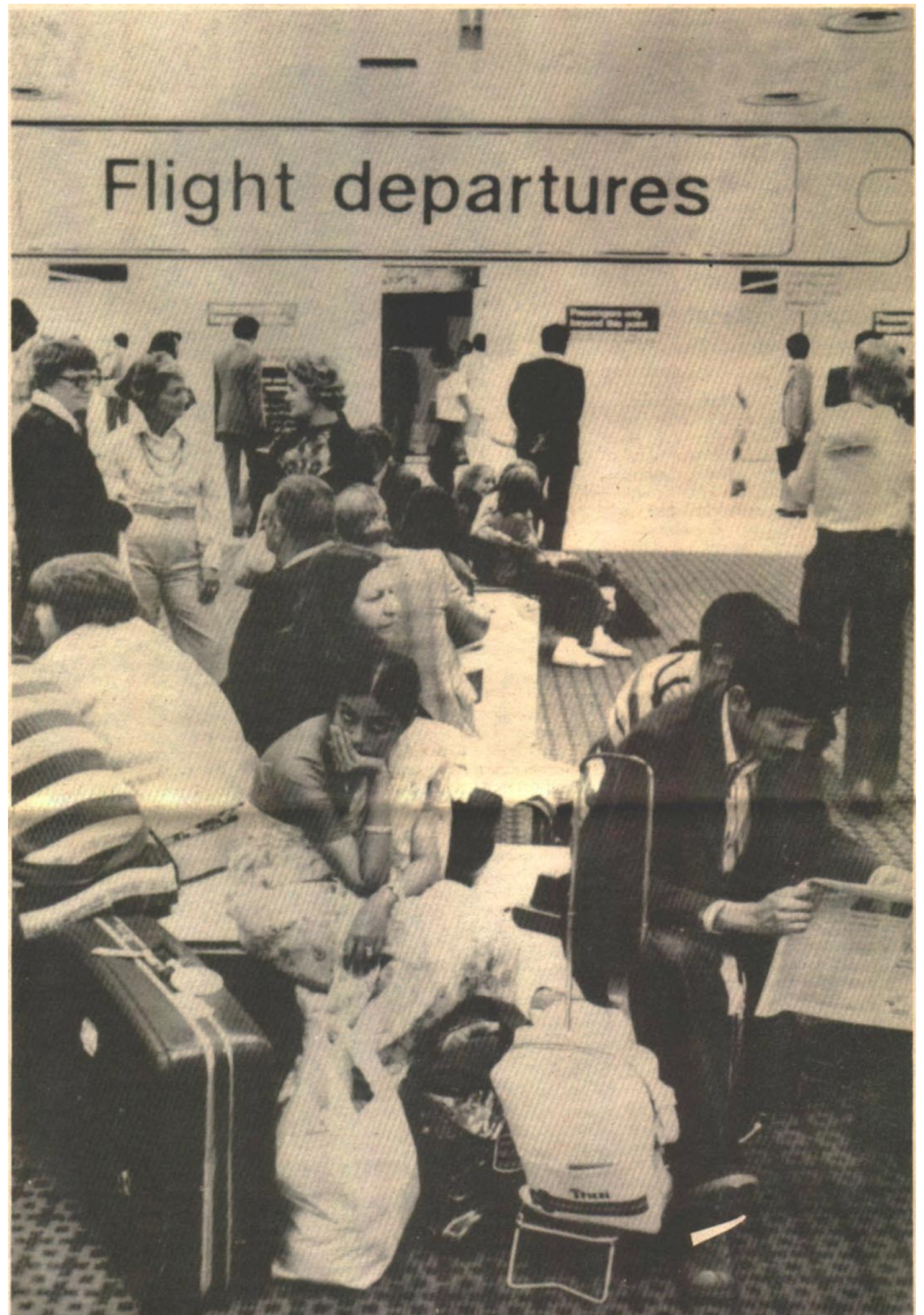
12-month rule maintained.

The crucial vote was on the so-called 12-month rule, the last remaining fragment of the wage restraint system. This binds the unions not to seek wage rises within 12 months of the previous rise. Since the previous rise for most workers was minuscule, and way behind the inflation rate, there's a natural reluctance to wait until next March—or thereabouts—to put in fresh demands. Indeed, most major unions at their own conferences have decided to table demands as soon as possible.

By a vote of 7,130,000 to 4,344,000, a long resolution was ratified endorsing the "immediate return to free collective bargaining," granting the 12-month rule as a condition, and demanding urgent Government action of a reflationary nature "to reduce unemployment and allow living standards to rise again."

How far the union leaders speak for their members in conceding the 12-month rule is a matter for argument. Hugh Scanlon, president of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, cast his union's 1 1/4 million votes for the resolution amid protesting shouts from other delegates of that union.

What's involved here is a question that has caused a ruckus within the AUEW on many previous occasions. Is the union vote at the TUC (or at a Labour Party conference) to be cast in ac-



Passengers at London's Heathrow airport during air traffic control assistants strike.

UPI

cordance with previous decisions of its executive committee, as interpreted by the president, or in accordance with the wishes of the delegation to that conference? Advocates of the latter view assert that the delegation is the more democratic body, being chosen from shop-floor workers in various regions, and also that it can take account of recent swings of opinion. Twenty-three of the 26 delegates at the TUC were opposed to the 12-month rule, which must mean something in terms of membership attitudes. These delegates bitterly denounced Scanlon for dictatorially casting the vote as he saw fit.

Air controllers strike.

The difficulties created by the lingering remnants of the wage restraint policy are highlighted in the current strike by air control traffic assistants. There are only 850 of these men, but their action

has cut British Airways flights by 40 percent and created long delays at airports.

They reached agreement with the management (the state-owned Civil Aviation Authority) in June 1975 on wage rises of between 13 and 17 percent, according to grade and skill. Because of the wage-freeze, introduced in August 1975, the increases were not paid. They claim that, the wage-freeze being over, they should get the rise—with back-dating to January 1975, when the original negotiations started.

The Government states firmly that, return to free collective bargaining notwithstanding, nobody paid from public funds is going to get a rise of over 10 percent. The CAA says, in particular, that the back-dating is out of the question. The union replies that it's not making a new claim but asking for the implementation of a 1975 settlement,

and that back-dating is hallowed practice.

Acting tough, the CAA has now declared the men dismissed for refusing to perform their duties—which shows that a state authority can behave just like any old unreconstructed employer. The strike could be a long one.

Any major strike this fall or winter—above all a miners' strike, the ultimate nightmare—would pose a grave threat to the promised economic recovery, to the "confidence" of foreign investors, and also to the political strategy whereby Callaghan hopes to win the next election.

Thus the question faced by the Government is: how firmly can it hold to its disciplinary policies without provoking an explosion? The TUC session has supplied a reprieve, but no durable answer. *Mervyn Jones writes for The New Statesman.*

SOUTH AMERICA

Jagan fears for Guyana's future.

Chedi Jagan was Guyana's premier until he was overthrown with CIA help. Now he is critically supporting his successor, Forbes Burnham. But he charges Burnham is making Guyana into another Mexico.

By Jim Cockcroft

Dr. Cheddi Jagan, leader of the People's Progressive Party (PPP) and Premier of Guyana when that country was still a British colony, recently completed a little-publicized but significant tour of Eastern cities with a plea to friends and progressives to organize solidarity committees for the defense of democracy in Guyana.

What most Americans know about Guyana (population 800,000, bordered by Surinam, Brazil, Venezuela, and the Caribbean) is that in the early '60s the CIA, with AFL-CIO help helped bring down Jagan's government and thereby stall the PPP's national liberation movement. Few realize that a principal political figure in that CIA campaign, Forbes Burnham, leader of the People's National Congress (PNC), is today Premier.

Politically nurtured in the culture of anti-communism, Burnham now calls himself a "Marxist-Leninist." He regularly denounces "foreign destabilization campaigns" and "imperialism."

Under the sustained pressure of the workers, peasants, PPP, and a small left wing of his own party, Burnham has nationalized the two main industries—bauxite and sugar—as well as much of the rest of the economy. And he has improved relations with Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, the GDR, and China.

These measures have been tolerated by foreign capital, which views Burnham's party in power as preferable to the PPP.

"The imperialists are not fooled by the line that there is no difference between the PPP and the PNC, that both are socialist—a falsehood intended to get backing for the PNC regime," Jagan claimed during his tour. And he added: "That is why the *Rockefeller Report on the Americas* defends the PNC status quo and warns against a 'Communist victory' in Guyana."

As evidence of the better treatment PNC offers foreign capital than would be so under the PPP program for socialism, Jagan pointed to the more than \$100 million paid in compensation to the foreign aluminum and sugar enterprises and to the lucrative bauxite-sales contracts granted Philipp Bros., the American subsidiary of the giant South African Anglo-American Corporation.

Jagan asserted that the PNC is establishing "a military-bureaucratic one-party state, not unlike Mexico. With the two-thirds majority in the National Assembly that it stole by extensive fraud and army seizure of the ballot boxes in 1973, it proposes to amend the Constitution to destroy the fundamental rights of the people." But Jagan told his American audiences that the PPP lends "critical support" to the Burnham government, backing its progressive steps but criticizing its concessions to foreign capital and its slow, "top-down" approach to economic and social reform.

With Burnham in poor health, Jagan was particularly concerned that the Premier might step down allowing the majority in the PNC to swing the party



Chedi Jagan

Betty Millard

Forbes Burnham brushes aside Jagan's call for united front

On the eve of last month's People's National Congress (PNC) biennial conference the leader of the opposition People's Progressive Party (PPP), Cheddi Jagan, issued a call for a "national patriotic front government" in the interests of national unity and socialism. The call comes just two years after Jagan declared that he was ready to extend "critical support" to the PNC and 15 months after the PPP ended its three-year boycott in protest against the rigging of the 1973 general election and reappeared in parliament.

Last year prime minister Forbes Burnham welcomed the PPP's return to the parliamentary fold, and a number of meetings were held between him and Jagan. It was evident that both the Cubans and the Russians (who last year opened an embassy in Georgetown) were encouraging these moves towards an understanding; the Communist parties of both countries send fraternal representatives to the congresses of both the PNC and the PPP.

Behind the socialist rhetoric of both parties lies the continuing problem of racial disunity. This was one of the reasons for last month's appeal by Jagan, and explains why Burnham has been consoli-

dating his power by the increasing militarization of the country. Many observers are worried that the pledge of loyalty given to the PNC at last month's congress by the almost totally black Guyana Defense Force can only hinder any moves towards understanding between the predominantly black ruling party and the mainly Indian PPP.

Burnham turned down the proposals without further ado. The PNC, he declared to the party congress, was not interested in "a coalition." He called such an idea "superficially attractive" but claimed that the PNC "as a vanguard party" wanted to "achieve national unity in the socialist sense . . . If the Bolsheviks had sought unity with the Mensheviks, the history of the Soviet Union would have been differently written."

The reaction of the Russian delegates to this sweeping equation is not known. However, knowledgeable sources feel that the Soviet Union is driving a hard bargain for increased aid to the crisis-hit Guyanese economy, a bargain that could include a demand that the pro-Moscow PPP be given a share in government.

—Latin American Political Report

and the country to the right. He cited the historical parallel of Egypt after Nasser's death.

Rumors of actions to destabilize or otherwise move Guyana rightward are already as common as the "comrade" form of greeting one encounters in Georgetown's streets. Jagan told *In These Times* that the CIA is fomenting trouble, mainly through a rightwing, racist group that attacks Jagan for "betraying the East Indians," the majority race in Guyana (Jagan is Indo-Guyanese, Burnham is Afro-Guyanese).

Strikes "counterrevolutionary"

The Burnham government may face its stiffest challenge from the labor movement. In December 1976, the Guyana Mine Workers Union, on which Burnham has relief for his political base, walked out, 5000 strong, to protest the lack of free elections in the union.

Burnham declared all such strikes "counter-revolutionary." Riot police teargassed the strikers, and the leadership was arrested. Questioning the bauxite workers' patriotism, the Premier sent the people's militia to scab on the strike.

The miners eventually returned to work, in order to carry on the struggle on a broader, more national basis in the months ahead. Some of their leaders now come from The Working People's Alliance, formed by left dissidents from the PNC and PPP.

Much of labor's struggle has shifted to the Trades Union Council. Until recently, the TUC has been an exclusive organization serving PNC interests. Only in December 1975 was the nation's largest union allowed to enter the TUC, its elections certified by the government. The Guyana Agricultural Workers Union (GAWU), long a PPP stronghold, garnered 98 percent of the sugar workers' vote. The GAWU, the Clerical and Commercial Workers Union, the academic community workers' union, and the sugar industry's clerical workers now constitute 40 percent of TUC membership firmly on the side of the PPP and advocating completion of national liberation from imperialism and genuine workers' democracy.

To these pressures from below have been added failures in economic planning. Although insisting it is "voluntary," Burnham has had to introduce a 10 percent wage-deduction to buoy the nation's drained foreign reserves (which help compensate the bauxite countries) and meet the national debt. The impression is widespread that the PNC will not be able to win an unrigged election in 1978.

Increased security measures.

The PNC has continued to respond to strikes and protests with arrests and firings. In early September ten representatives of striking sugar workers were arrested. Interior Minister Vibert Mingo has also introduced new security measures in Parliament, including a curfew.

PPP militants have been falsely accused of "murder" and other crimes. Internationally renowned black marxist scholar Dr. Walter Rodney had his appointment as head of the University of Guyana's History Department revoked by the Board of Governors (packed with PNC supporters, including Burnham's wife).

Most Americans following Caribbean developments think of Jamaica, Puerto Rico, or Cuba as the next hot spot, but it is probably Guyana that will be.

Jim Cockcroft is the co-author (with Andre Gunder Frank and Dale L. Johnson) of Dependence and Underdevelopment, Latin America's Political Economy (New York: Anchor, 1972) and numerous books and articles on Latin America. He recently returned from a visit to Guyana.

Bert Lance



Ken Firestone

Continued from page 4.

than income distribution.

By the late '60s, however, such techniques were no longer working. Defense expenditures for Vietnam had damaged the American economy, seemingly beyond repair. At home economic stability had been undermined by stagflation—simultaneous increases in both inflation and unemployment—which was contrary to all the Keynesian models. The next Democratic president would have to find some new techniques, a post-Keynesian solution to holding the Democratic party together and keeping it in power.

Just as Jimmy Carter has tried to balance the cold warriors and the peaceniks within his own party by proclaiming both of their goals, he has been walking a narrow line in domestic economic policy as well.

When he filled his key economic positions, he appointed representatives of a variety of different views. Charles Schultze, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, had begun to question the Keynesian solution by arguing that more government functions should be subject to the market. Michael Blumenthal, Secretary of the Treasury, together with experts in international economics like Richard Cooper and J. Fred Bergsten, argued that traditional Keynesian tactics were irrelevant because they were based on the actions of the nation state, while the economy had be-

come transnational.

With these important positions filled by men who no longer believed in traditional, business-oriented government spending, it was essential for Carter to find someone who did. Bert Lance became that man.

Voice of caution.

In the choreography of economic policy making, Lance has been the key soloist. It was Lance who argued down Schultze's notion of a tax rebate in order to stimulate spending. Such an action preserved the money to balance the budget, a goal close to the hearts of businessmen. Similarly it has been Lance who has acted as a check on some of the visionary ideas of the free traders and one worlders, reminding them that American profits and American jobs are at stake. Lance's voice has always been one of caution. (Caution, in this case, does not fit a model of left and right. Both Schultze and Blumenthal, for example, while critics of the policies of the past, cannot be viewed as progressive; Schultze has moved toward laissez-faire at home and Blumenthal toward laissez-faire abroad. Both sides are arguing about how to manage the system, not how to change it.)

Carter will be unable to govern (and unable to run again), unless he can keep the Democratic party united. This means that he must please both sides in the fall-out over Keynesian tactics.

On the one hand Carter has business interests to placate, and here Lance—the only “Republican” in his administration, as the *Wall Street Journal* has noted—played a key role. On the other hand Carter must seek out new techniques for managing the economy or face continued economic disaster, which makes Schultze and Blumenthal essential.

In this context, Carter had little choice but to go to the wall in his defense of Lance. Losing the man was inevitable, but his defense of Lance prepared the way for the appointment of someone else with similar views.

Carter's performance in sticking by his old buddy as long as he could did not grow from a close friendship or the need

to have a crony in high places; Washington does not permit friendships to stand in the way of the exercise of power. Carter's defense of Lance was extremely political. He was reminding business that he understands their needs, hoping thereby to preserve those delicate conditions that allow the Democrats to continue as the majority party.

In the end Lance's gall will be long remembered. The substance of the charges against him make him out to be a man who fails even the most minimum standards of ethical propriety. Much talk is being heard in Washington about standards for public office being too high. In Lance's case this is bunk. He demeaned his office and deserved his fate. The public that forced him out should be

congratulated for refusing to surrender its demand that men of high office obey the rules that apply to everyone else.

The Lance affair was a business that nobody in government really wanted. Both the Senate and the White House were undoubtedly damaged. Nor did the press come out of it smelling wholesome. In the long run the most significant impact of the entire business may have been the contribution it made to public disrespect for the existing economic and political system.

Every president since Kennedy has wound up enormously unpopular. The Lance affair may be the start of that process for Jimmy Carter.

Alan Wolfe writes regularly for In These Times.

Carter/Third World

Continued from page 8

What the OECD put on the table in Paris was a version of a deal Kissinger had presented in 1975: a “Development Security Facility” within the IMF to offer more generous terms of credit and trade for the Third World, in return for assurances from OPEC that the oil would keep flowing at reasonable prices. This time around, the producer nations were handed:

- a truncated commodity stabilization program, confined to a few products and operating out of the World Bank;
- limited “second window” financing, to be provided by the usual assortment of multinational banks, Western governments and international lending institutions;
- to sweeten the pot, a \$1 billion “special action” fund to help the least developed nations pay their import bills.

World Bank in control.

If accepted by the Third World bloc in Paris, this program would have effectively short-circuited the 2nd UNCTAD Common Fund Conference, scheduled for Geneva in November. Conference delegates would have found their mandates reduced to merely rubber-stamping the Paris accord. One American goal, then, would have been achieved: turning the UN into a simple talking shop as far as international commodity trade matters are concerned.

More importantly, perhaps, acceptance of the OECD proposals would tighten the links of developing country dependence by shunting commodity stabilization programming into the World Bank, where the U.S. and its allies rule the roost. And it would compound the already staggering indebtedness of the less developed nations through a fresh shower of aid and loans. The corollary to this was the OECD refusal to go along with a moratorium on Third World debts, which now total some \$180 billion, of which around \$75 billion is owed to the big Western banks.

To close their deal, the OECD countries turned to yet another set of “Trojan Horses” within the Third World camp itself.

In June, Colombia, Guatemala and Nicaragua backed the American stand against intervention in the world cotton market; in a fine display of willful self-destructiveness this spring, Chile and Zaire joined the U.S. in pooh-poohing the efficacy of buffer stocking in firming up copper prices. And, Brazil and Mexico confounded their Third World allies at the “North-South” parley by coming out against the debt moratorium, on the grounds that such a move might damage their own international credit ratings.

Saudi role.

In Paris, the front-line “Trojan Horse” was Saudi Arabia. Already a trusty ally of American policy in Africa and the Middle East, the Saudis got the nod to put the OECD package to the Third World bloc. And, armed with the \$1 billion gift to the least developed nations (the most vociferous proponents of the Common Fund), Sheik Yamani did his best.

It wasn't good enough. The OECD thrust was parried by an unlikely foe,

the Imperial Government of Iran. A geopolitical and economic rival of the Saudi Arabian Kingdom in the Gulf region, (the Shah likes to refer to Riyadh's chief oil negotiator as “that fellow Yamani”), Iran accused the Saudis of “selling out” the Third World cause and trying to sabotage the recent OPEC agreement to jack up oil prices. Result: though the OECD has decided to push on unilaterally with its “special action” fund, the rest of its negotiating package goes on the shelf until “dialoguing” resumes in Paris.

The Third World bloc left the French capital on June 1 in visible disarray. The acrimony between the poorer and richer countries within its ranks, already evident in Geneva last March, has been sharpened by Yamani's maneuvering in Paris. Considerable fence-mending will be required if the developing nations are to put together a united front for the next round of Common Fund talks this winter.

Economic warfare.

More recent developments seem to bear out this sombre conclusion.

In August OECD-OPEC decided to create a special \$10 billion IMF loaning fund to aid the “poorer” nations. OPEC also decided to offer \$148.7 million in long-term, interest-free loans to Third World nations hit by oil price rises. While the purpose of these credits, to help borrowers improve essential services, is laudable enough, the overall result of such programs is to blunt the poorest nations' drive for economic self-reliance.

More threatening was the Carter Administration's pledge during the Paris talks to ask Congress for a 30 percent boost in American foreign aid during the coming fiscal year (the 1976 American foreign aid bill was \$4.3 billion). For this assistance (like the American chunk of the proposed “special action” fund) is to be doled out on a bi-lateral basis, government-to-government, with all the political arm-twisting and cushy deals for American exporters and multinationals such an arrangement implies.

After 18 months of negotiations, the Third World has made little headway toward its goal of a more egalitarian commodity trading structure. Its ranks split along lines of wealth and power, the developing country bloc forged in the wake of the 1973 oil embargo has proven itself an uncertain instrument for achieving a “New International Economic Order.” This lack of progress has fallen unevenly upon the members of the less developed camp. The more affluent will get along, with a little help from their friends. No matter how consistently Mobutu runs Zaire's economy into the ground, he knows that his country's cache of strategic raw materials will guarantee him Western financial support. Most of the rest of the Third World countries, however, stand to lose considerably through reinforced dependence and continued unfavorable terms of trade, with the least developed being the hardest-hit.

Bruce Vandervort is a free lance journalist in Geneva, Switzerland.

Do you have 10 friends...

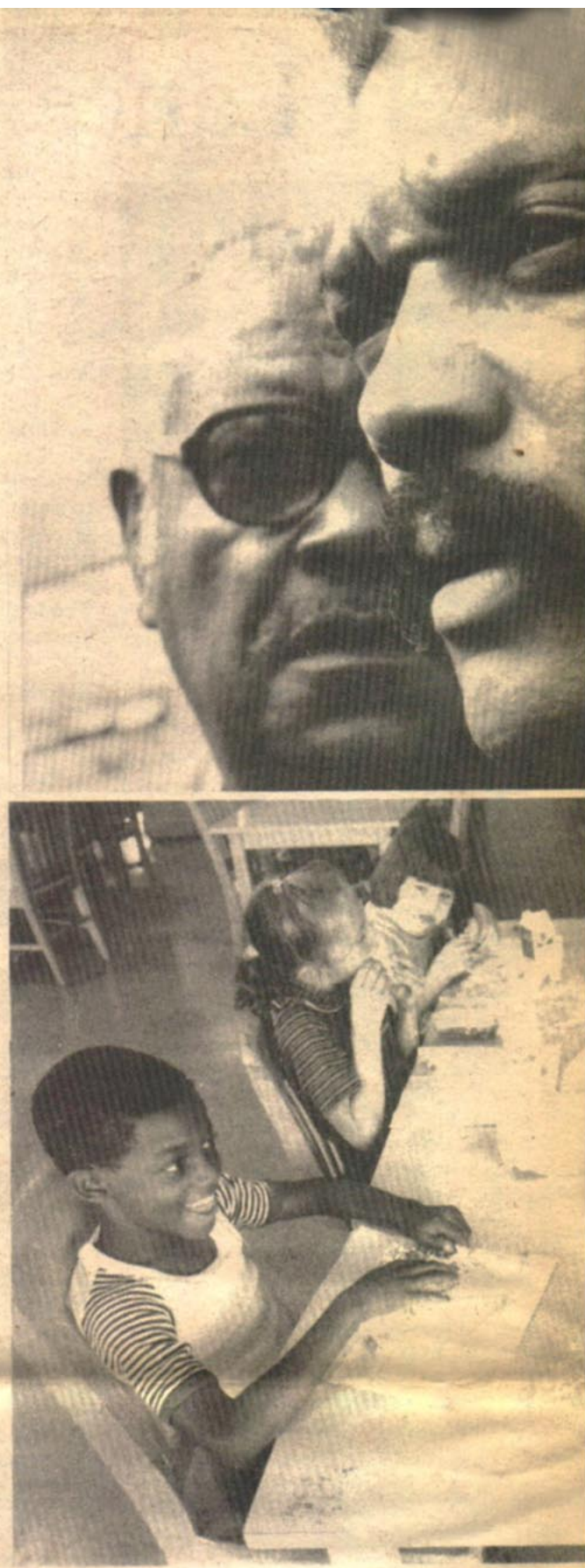
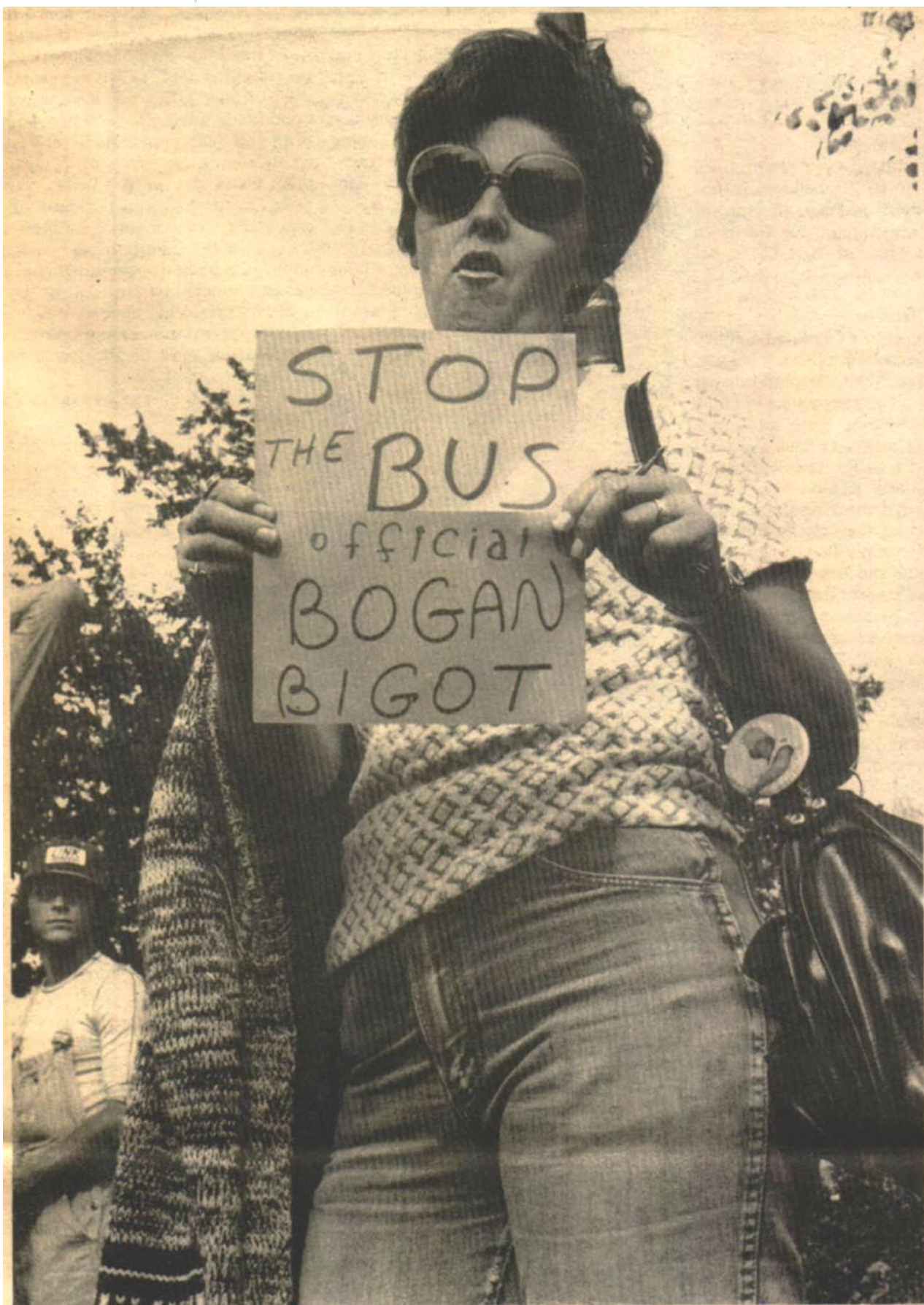


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Buses, Bigots & E

By David Moberg

It was the first day of school on Chicago's far southwest side. Outside of Sawyer elementary school, in a homey working class neighborhood of just barely prospering sons and daughters of immigrants, there was a cluster of grim-looking mothers.

Near the corner of the school, two blond boys, Chris, 11, and Ralph, 9, were watching the action. They had no intention of going to school that day, but they did want to see the bus pull up with the anticipated 29 black students.

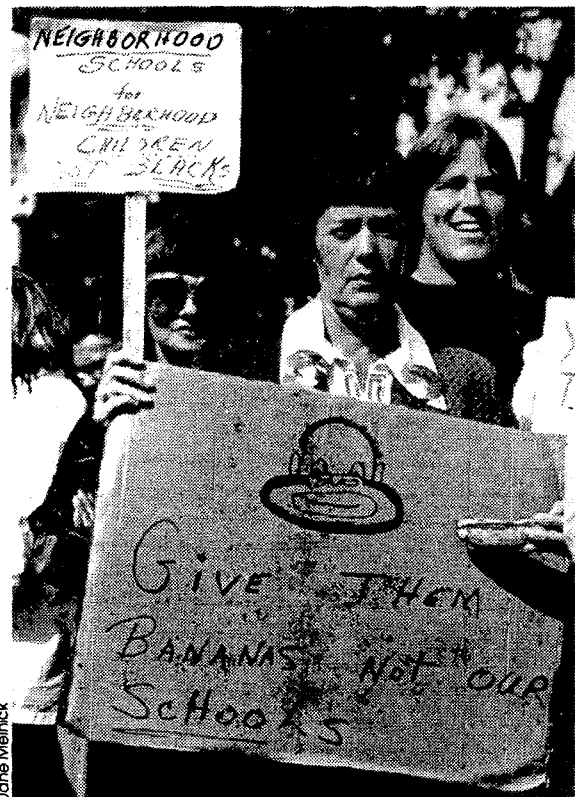
The bus riders were coming to underused Sawyer from overcrowded Henderson school. It was only minutes away by bus, but the gulf of experience—symbolized by Western Avenue, the current dividing line between black and white in that part of town—made it seem like a vast distance.

Then a nervously smiling, white-haired minister greeted the two boys as he approached their corner.

"You here to give the black kids their final blessings?" Chris asked.

No, he said, but he did want to tell the boys that some of the black students on the bus came from a Methodist church, just as they did. He'd met them a couple of weeks earlier while eating dinner at the nearby black Methodist church.

"You mean you ate with them?" Ralph asked incredulously. Then, with a mixture of snide self-assurance and genuine curiosity, he probed further,



Bigotry proudly proclaimed, picketers in the Bogan neighborhood oppose busing. Rev. Jesse Jackson (upper right, above) demanded police protection of kids. Despite worries, the opening was peaceful, especially among kids (lower right, above).

"What did they eat? Soul food?"

"They eat just like you," the clergyman said, "except they don't have Polish sausages and sauerkraut."

"Well," Chris warned, despite the near bridge of humanity—sans sauerkraut and a Polish—"if they take refuge in your church, the white kids are going to bomb it."

Later the preacher found signs of hope in the conversation. Chris had only said "the white kids" would bomb the church, not that he would. It was a day when such little signs were taken as blessings.

Despite the tensions, despite the fears beforehand, a few white kids had black kids in class with them for the first time. And the earth did not open up and swallow the city whole.

I. Separate and unequal, Chicago-style

September 7 both was and wasn't the start of desegregation in Chicago public schools.

The "permissive transfer" plan that brought kids from Henderson to Sawyer has been operating since 1963 to relieve "critical overcrowding" in some schools. Three different categories of transfers were open this year to nearly 6,500 students, out of half a million in the system. By opening day only around 1,200 had been filled.



Richard Stromberg



Richard Stromberg

Bogan

This fall 15 critically overcrowded elementary "sending" schools were matched with 51 "receiving" schools. Buses, instead of tokens for public transportation, were provided. Otherwise the main novelty—and source of tension—was that a few of the black students would be traveling to elementary schools that feed into Bogan High School in the Ashburn neighborhood.

Since 1963 a strident, determined band of women, commonly dubbed "the Bogan broads," had blocked every effort to permit blacks into schools in their areas.

They were not alone in stalling desegregation of schools in Chicago, one of the two or three most segregated cities in the U.S. Despite longstanding commitments to desegregate from the school board, which is appointed by the mayor, and from school administrators, only token measures have been taken.

The schools are not unusual in this regard. Politicians have long acted to preserve and protect racial discrimination in public housing, the private housing market and both public and private hiring as well as the schools.

Mayor Ed Kelly, boss of Chicago from 1933 to 1947, was not resisted by the Democratic party because he supported open housing, for example. Throughout the post-war era the city built public housing in a way that concentrated poor blacks in the traditional ghetto.

When schools in black neighborhoods were packed with kids, they were expanded with temporary mobile units in the schoolyard (still in place) or else

new schools were built nearby rather than assign the children to less crowded white schools, only minutes away by bus.

Along with the racial division came discrimination in spending. Even in 1976, according to a study by *The Chicago Reporter*, white elementary schools received 7.3 percent more money per student than black schools.

Despite the 1954 Supreme Court decision against school segregation, despite the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and despite a strong 1963 Illinois statute (the Armstrong Act) outlawing segregated schools, the school administrators perpetuated the racial divisions rooted in private housing and job markets.

While other cities were forced to desegregate under court order, usually as a result of NAACP lawsuits, Chicago was spared. Critics claim that the NAACP was under former Mayor Richard Daley's control, but NAACP leaders said they did not have the \$750,000 necessary to bring Chicago to court.

Finally, in 1969 the Justice department told the city to end discriminatory assignments of teachers. Despite efforts to delay or circumvent the order, last spring school administrators began shuffling over 2,000 teachers and principals around.

Last spring the state board of education put the city schools on probation for a year. The city had not met student desegregation guidelines issued four years earlier. Now a 40-member Citywide Advisory Committee and a special consultant are hurriedly concocting plans to meet a March 1978 deadline.

School administrators, including Supt. Joseph Hannon, stress use of a variety of voluntary means to produce enough desegregation to get them off the hook. However, even successful use of transfers, magnet schools, and changes of grade and "feeder" patterns of school will probably not bring the schools in line with the state requirement of having each school's population within 15 percent of the ratios of races in the system.

While school administrators downplay busing, many of their antagonists—who oppose any form of school integration—try to rally supporters by raising the unpopular specter of busing white students to schools in black neighborhoods.

However, recent polls show nearly four-fifths of Chicagoans expecting more desegregation to come eventually—and peacefully. Parents and PTA leaders in some white neighborhoods actually welcome black transfer students. They want to keep up dwindling school enrollments to preserve programs that might otherwise be cut. Even the isolated opposition in the Bogan area has so far been less hostile than feared.

After anti-busing forces were rebuffed in their request for a three-year moratorium on desegregation of their neighborhood schools, they announced plans for school picketing and boycotts on opening day and every Friday afterwards.

At first police planned a "low profile," but protests by black leaders, such as Rev. Jesse Jackson, prompted city officials to take a not-terribly-daring stand in favor of peaceful opening of schools and more overt police protection. The issue of violence was brought to a head when a policeman from the Ashburn area, Aloysius Majerczyk, told the August school board meeting that white policemen would get "blue flu" rather than protect black schoolchildren.

Opponents of the transfers called off their opening day pickets (citing fear of pro-integration "radicals"), but first day attendance was off by 80 percent in the Bogan area schools—much, but not all, indicating support of the boycott. (Even in neighboring Marquette Park, however, attendance was only down by 20 percent.)

Attendance quickly shot back to normal and the Friday boycotts were quietly dropped, but pickets—which still continue—were set up by community women at several schools.

On Sunday, September 11, an anti-desegregation rally of 1,000 grew disorderly when a woman was arrested for speaking in the park without a rally permit. Rocks were thrown at passing black motorists. One black driver struck three demonstrators as he tried to get out of the area, escaping a mob attacking his car, he later said.

Mayor Michael Bilandic met with women opposing the transfers. While urging protection of the students, he also announced that he wasn't sure of the merits of busing. Newspaper editorialists, black leaders and the head of the regional office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights stepped up their criticism of the mayor's leadership, which has been vacillating at best, encouraging to opponents of desegregation at its worst.

Despite the continuing failure of nerve and of commitment to enforcing the laws against segregated schools among city officials, "the immediate circumstances [of the transfers] were good and constructive," according to Meyer Weinberg, editor of *Integrated Education* magazine and author of several major studies of schools and race.

"Yet overall it's not only meaningless in desegregating the city," he said, "but it's also a smokescreen for the board. Not a single school on the state's probationary list was desegregated. Now there's a great danger that people will say the reason it was so successful was because it was modest."

Without direct compulsion the city will do as little as possible. Observers doubt that the state board of education would resort to its one trump card, withdrawal of state funds that now provide half of the school budget. If it tried, they speculate, the legislature would probably abolish the board, which has no constitutional charter.

"The school board needs Bogan terribly," Weinberg said. "They would be in trouble if Bogan didn't make the school board appear middle-of-the-road. Bogan plays a necessary role, but a symbolic role, since it really has no power."

How has this one small neighborhood become every politician's excuse for not desegregating education? The answer has to do with far more than schools.

II. "Our Mississippi"

Too many Chicagoans who are liberals, sympathetic to the idea of integration, or in some way appalled by racism, the Southwest side is an embarrassment—"our Mississippi."

In 1966, for example, Martin Luther King was stoned when he led an open housing march into the area east and slightly north of Ashburn, commonly known as Marquette

Park. The American Nazi Party set up their headquarters there shortly afterwards with hope of finding receptive ears for their virulent "white power" message. Homes of black families moving into the fringes of the area, but still east of Western Avenue, have suffered the by now predictable assaults of everything from bricks to firebombs. Blacks passing through the Marquette Park area are often physically attacked.

In June 1976 a tiny, obscure group calling itself the Martin Luther King, Jr. Movement attempted to march into Marquette Park. Led by three black ministers, lacking any community base or backing from most other black organizations, the group had vaguely articulated demands, no clear strategy and tactics unthinkingly lifted from the civil rights movement of the '60s.

Usually blocked by police and the courts from marching, they succeeded in leading 125 to 150 supporters into Marquette Park in July 1976. They were pelted by bricks, stones, bottles, beer cans and other missiles thrown by an outraged mob of at least 1,000 angry whites.

This summer several white mobs raged through the streets attacking black motorists when a King Movement march, which they had been anticipating, was called off at the last minute.

All this gives a picture of the southwest side as deeply racist, inclined to violence and open to right-wing politics. Although true of some people, it is neither complete nor fair as a sketch of the neighborhood.

Most of the people living in the Marquette Park and Ashburn areas are relatively skilled blue-collar workers, lower-level white collar workers, small businessmen and city employees, including many policemen. A bit above average in income, below average in unemployment, it is a neighborhood where people are struggling to pay off mortgages on their brick bungalow or two and four-flat apartments.

Hard work, frugality, connections and a white face have given not very highly educated but fairly skilled workers from 20th century immigrant families a small margin of affluence.

The Catholic church is strong, and people often think of themselves as living in a parish, St. Rita's or St. Nick's, for example, rather than Chicago Lawn, the official name of the Marquette Park area.

Although many families have been rooted in the neighborhood for many years, there is also a large and influential bloc of people who have moved there within the last decade to escape from neighborhoods to the east that were becoming all black.

The change of their neighborhood generated great bitterness. Some people lost money on their hurried sales. Although blacks were usually blamed, the disruption and rapid resegregation was in large part a result of the actions of powerful financial interests.

Panic-peddling and solicitation by realtors were commonplace. Savings and loans that were filled with neighborhood money redlined white neighborhoods near black communities, refusing or setting difficult terms for mortgages or home improvement loans. Unscrupulous mortgage bankers sold houses in bad repair to blacks who could not afford to keep up the house or payments. Mortgages were quickly foreclosed and the buildings abandoned to vandalism, while the mortgage-holders collected their guaranteed profits—a problem worsened after Federal Housing Administration loan requirements were greatly loosened in 1968.

Nobody makes money from a house with a mortgage already paid off, but everybody in the real estate business could take a cut out of the rapid circulation of houses through the frightened market.

Meanwhile, savings and loans were investing the money of southwestsiders in a massive overbuilding

Continued next page

of suburban housing. Young whites, who might otherwise have settled in their home city neighborhoods, found it easier to get housing out in the suburbs, where their liberally spent dollars went to new shopping centers rather than the commercial strips of the southwest side.

Across the racial divide, the black population was growing with immigration from the South. The housing stock available in the center city was shrinking.

Landlord neglect of old buildings, highway construction and urban renewal laid waste to large sections of land. City and private money then, and now, went to redevelop desirable parcels of that land to attract middle-class whites to the city. In the process blacks were pushed to compete with white workers on the south and west sides of the city for moderate-priced housing.

Whites on the southwest side now look at poor black neighborhoods where many of them once lived and see boarded-up buildings, vacant storefronts and a neighborhood in disrepair. (They rarely see the black neighborhoods on the south side that are as neat as theirs, with blacks cleaning gutters on Saturday afternoons and worrying about mortgages just as they do.)

They fear crime, and when they hear "black" they think of it. The tension on this is worsened on the southwest side by an unfortunate juxtaposition. The white neighborhood has one of the lowest crime rates in the city. Englewood, the immediately adjacent black neighborhood, has one of the highest incidences of crime in the city.

Fear, bitterness and resentment feed on the racial stereotypes. There are also deep hurts and angers among individual whites. Rumors spread and amplify the bad individual whites' experiences with racial conflict into firmly believed myths of black savagery. Hatreds flow back and forth, at times erupting in violence from both blacks and whites.

Many southwest side whites resent government at all levels. They feel that unresponsive politicians dictate how they should live, take away their "rights" (with the "neighborhood school," for example, becoming a virtual constitutional right), giving everything to blacks at their expense. Anti-desegregationist leader Connie Schaeffer, president of the Bogan Community Council, for example, attacks the protective guard for bused-in kids as setting up a "police state" in Ashburn.

Most neighborhood people share an intense version of the American credo that everyone can and should pull him or herself up by the bootstraps. "I think it's good that people have to struggle to get ahead, have to work hard," says Francine Fatima, wife of a policeman and one of the anti-busing leaders.

A vast number of southwestiders also see blacks as lazy welfare parasites. They reject any government action to eliminate poverty, arguing that they or their parents could make it. Why can't blacks?

Wouldn't full employment for blacks in the city also benefit whites by strengthening and stabilizing black communities? "Niggers don't want to work," is the standard answer.

School desegregation triggers a whole complex of anxieties. Outside of some southwest side elementary schools on the first day, neighborhood women and teenagers voiced many of the common obsessions:

"They get you through the schools . . . We're hurt—hurt by the way the government is running the country . . . They'll want to live close. That's the next step . . . We're going to be forced to sell our houses . . . If they want better education, why don't they improve their schools instead of wrecking ours? . . . How many homes are going on sale today? . . . Why can't they keep the schools like they used to be? . . . The school board is using our kids as pawns just to get state and federal money . . . If the schools go broke, why are they spending money on these buses? . . . It's our tax money that built these schools. Now they want to take them away from us . . . Our backs are to the city wall. Where can we go?"

Yet one young mother, who shared many of these worries, also added, "No one is objecting to these little kids coming and getting a good education. They're worried about their houses. There are a lot of narrow-minded people here just worried about their money."

"People here will accept it [transfers]. There really wasn't much of a showing against it. They feel it won't do any good. They have no confidence in their politicians."

I noted a number of "Nigger Beware" signs plastered about by the Nazis.

"I hate it," said Linda, who had brought her child to school despite the boycott call. "I tell him to avoid kids like that, kids who mimic that kind of language. It's difficult in this neighborhood to teach him to be a decent human being when you have to fight off kids like that."



Community organizers turned the fear and anger of southwest side whites to more constructive ends—fighting bank redlining of the area, building a stronger local economy.

Yet Linda, like so many moderates in the neighborhood, feels that she is in a minority. She keeps quiet.

Those who would foster a hostile race consciousness are most vocal now. Francine Fatima, a local leader of the new National Association for Neighborhood Schools, was pleased that the ethnic rivalries of Poles, Irish, Lithuanians, Italians and Germans were declining. "We have a growing consciousness of ourselves as white people," she said, "just like the blacks with their 'black power.'"

Other themes and tactics from the black movement have also been self-consciously picked up, turned around and distorted by the Bogan protestors, including the pleas for community control by the powerless and race pride.

"There will always be racially identifiable black schools," Connie Schaeffer told the Bogan Community Council. "But we are not allowed to have racially identifiable white schools. Think about it. We are not allowed to have our homes, our families, our community."

W

hile the Bogan protests were going on, another side of the neighborhood showed itself in a more subdued way. Nearly 100 local business people had gathered in an evening of the second week of school at the Royalty Restaurant on W. 63rd Street, a major shopping area in Marquette Park.

The new development commission of the Southwest Parish and Neighborhood Federation, the largest and best-organized community group, had invited them to talk about revitalizing the neighborhood economy, using city money to make the shopping area more attractive, and keeping old businesses in the neighborhood while attracting new ones to any vacant spaces.

There was a sense of urgency in many of the local merchants' questions. Most of the men and women there were concerned, as one man said, to "keep Western Ave. viable and closed off from the element you don't want in."

Although nobody in the area tries to counter anti-black sentiment head-on, the Federation's focus on redevelopment directs neighborhood energy in a positive direction of strengthening the community. If there is ever a chance of integration succeeding somewhere down the line with the neighborhood, it will require whites committed to staying there, improving the community, pouring their money and work into it.

Without that, a push for open housing alone, for example, would mean almost certain racial turnover and resegregation as well as more conflict. Realtors, bankers and other speculators would profit. Blacks would inherit a neighborhood stripped of capital, services, commerce and amenities of a decent city life.

This year the Federation, working with the Illinois Public Action Council, helped to push through a new state law restricting mortgage banking abuses. They have also collected signatures of neighborhood residents who want to take advantage of a 1971 state law enabling people to stop realtors from soliciting them to sell their homes.

A

lthough the desegregation controversy has sparked a little more activity and unity in Chicago's fragmented, weakened black movement, blacks remain disorganized.

A majority of blacks probably favor some form of desegregation, but there are doubts about it. One group of black leaders has even attacked school desegregation in favor of black community control of black schools.

Even more typically, many blacks see full desegregation of Chicago schools as an impossible goal. Judson Hixson, education director of the Urban League and a member of the Citywide Advisory Committee, said that full desegregation would require busing 100,000 of the system's 125,000 white students.

He prefers to talk about developing a plan for quality education for black and white students. Desegregation through various mechanisms would be only one way of bringing that about. He looks to a recent Supreme Court ruling in the Detroit busing case as opening up a new strategy. The Court required the state of Michigan to help pay for schooling to compensate for past damages of school segregation.

Such compensatory education for blacks could be a major part of Chicago's new plan, although Meyer Weinberg argues that the compensation should be used in addition to, not instead of, desegregation.

A pitch for "quality education" might win many moderate whites away from the most militantly anti-integration forces. But it might also be perverted into a new version of the old "separate but equal" ruse.

The school board will probably have a tough time coming up with a workable, acceptable plan by March. They will probably ask for further extensions.

"Until some federal district court orders this system to desegregate, we aren't going to get anywhere," black school board member Henry McGee, a former postmaster, told an NAACP meeting before school opened.

Yet court-ordered busing would probably be much worse for the city than the reasonable plans city leaders could pursue now if they were willing to break from the Daley mold of government.

To be really effective, however, they will have to tackle the devastating effects of racism on all fronts. They will have to fight both private and public abandonment of the city economy to the ravages of real estate speculation, runaway factories and offices, continuing forms of bank and insurance redlining, and development only for the sake of downtown businesses and upper-income whites.

The Bogan area resistance to desegregation of schools is a gloomy cloud on Chicago's horizon. There are, however, whites—even on the southwest side—who are willing to accept desegregation, especially if they could also improve the quality of education for their kids at the same time.

Considering the recent history of the southwest side, the fight by the Parish and Neighborhood Federation against unscrupulous speculators and for economic revitalization of the neighborhood is also a hopeful sign.

Unfortunately, the least encouraging signals of all at the moment are the weak noises coming from City Hall.

Editorial

Affirmative action and the Bakke case

Afro-Americans may rightly claim to be experts in what is politely called the ironies of American history. They were forcibly brought as slaves to the New World by those seeking "freedom." They gained emancipation only to be involuntarily reduced to peonage. They watched the 14th and 15th amendments, passed ostensibly to guarantee their rights, turn into articles of their disfranchisement. They left the segregation and oppression of the South for the "enlightened" North and West only to see those sections become "Southernized." They fought for democracy abroad only to be denied it at home. They came to the cities for jobs, education, and health just when jobs were fleeing to the suburbs or were being automated away and recessions and fiscal crises cut into spending for jobs, education, and health.

For nearly two centuries, Afro-Americans were denied the constitutional rights and equal protection of the law that applied to whites. Now that they are just beginning to taste the fruits of civil rights laws designed to rectify past and continuing injustice, they are being told that exploitation, deprivation, and inequality are to be the fruits of winning constitutional rights and the equal protection of the laws.

The Bakke decision.

That, at least, is what the California Supreme Court's decision in the Bakke case is telling them. And it is the issue at the heart of affirmative action policies, upon the constitutionality of which the U.S. Supreme Court may decide in its review of Bakke. The question before the Supreme Court, and before the American people, is none other than whether the American constitutional system will still be made to obstruct, or to nurture and require, real equality of rights, liberties, and opportunity.

Affirmative action programs, such as that being challenged in the Bakke case, represent a recognition that if nonwhites (and also women) are really to be accorded equal opportunity and equal protection of the laws, remedial action to dispel or compensate for the disabilities consequent upon their systematic denial in the past, and present, is necessary.

Such programs have become the center of conflict where they appear to deprive some whites of access to opportunities for which they believe themselves qualified. Allan Bakke, a white, contends he was denied admission to the medical school at the University of California, Davis, even though he was qualified, in order to make room for less qualified nonwhites. He argues that he was a victim of racial discrimination by a state agency in violation of the 14th amendment.

Age was real reason.

In fact, 13 medical schools rejected Bakke, including one that admitted no nonwhites and three where nonwhites comprised under 5 percent of the total. Davis admitted 16 nonwhites and 36 whites with lower grade points or test scores than Bakke's. Bakke did not object to the admission of the 36 whites ahead of him, nor did the California judges address that point. It is reasonable to believe that Bakke's rejection by 13 medical schools had more to do with an unfortunate age criterion—he was 32 when he applied to Davis—than with affirmative action programs. But the California court decision in effect holds it is lawful to admit lower ranking whites but

not lower-ranking nonwhites. It is puzzling that the California court chose the Bakke case to make its sweeping ruling.

The case has nevertheless served foes of affirmative action as a sounding board for spreading misapprehensions. One of these is that affirmative action has decreased white people's access to medical training. But the truth is that since 1968, when affirmative action programs began taking effect, the number of first-year medical school places allotted to whites rose by 49 percent while bachelor degrees awarded to whites rose by 45 percent. The doubling of medical school applicants since 1968 has obscured the fact that white access has increased, at the same time that black access has. By exerting greater pressure for expanding and building medical schools, affirmative action has benefitted whites as well as blacks.

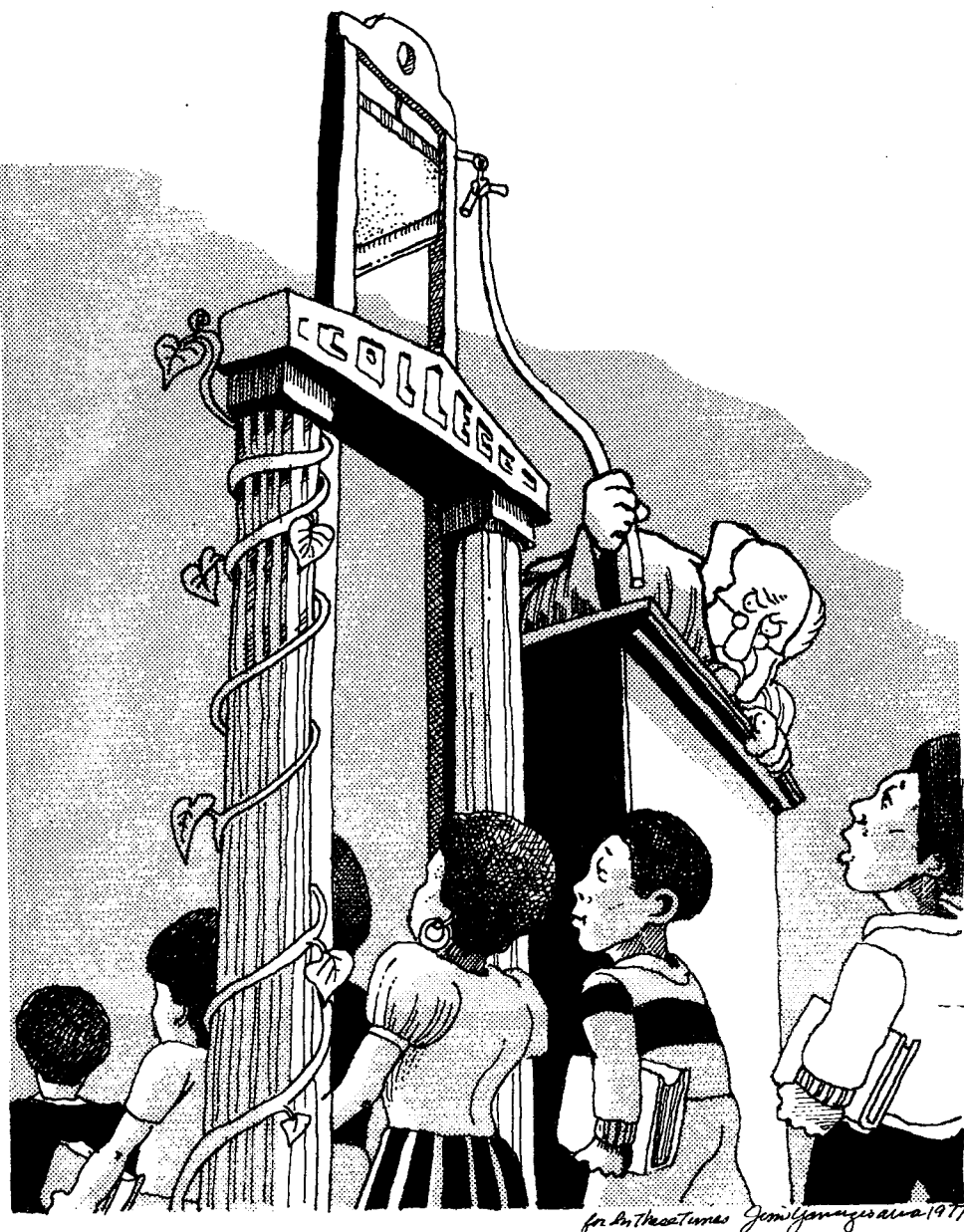
Needs of blacks.

But the needs of black and other non-white Americans still far outrun gains such as those achieved in medical school admissions. Of 375,000 doctors in the U.S., only 6,048, or 1.7 percent, are black. There is an urgent need for more black doctors to serve those whom white doctors neglect. On the same grounds, there is also the need for more black (and other nonwhite) medical students: Hospitals attached to medical schools serve largely the poor, and particularly the black poor. Medical students take their training at such hospitals. That means that predominantly white medical students (over 90 percent of the total), with little empathy with their patients, learn and experiment in treatment of predominantly poor black patients.

Another misapprehension is that affirmative action admits to professional schools students who are not qualified. On the contrary, affirmative action gives blacks (and other nonwhites) who are qualified a chance they would otherwise not get for professional training.

It is also inaccurately said that affirmative action aids "minorities" against the advantages of the "majority." In fact, applied to professional schools and occupations, it is a remedy to a system that routinely gives preference to the richer, more powerful minority at the expense of the aspirations and opportunities of the poorer, less powerful majority. Affirmative action programs have resulted in remedial aid for poor whites as well as nonwhites.

Many thoughtful people who otherwise support affirmative action nevertheless oppose racial quotas as a method of implementing it, as was the case at Davis. The Justice Department's brief in the Bakke case strongly supports affirmative action without supporting quotas. Quotas are dangerous in that they may become in practice ceilings rather than floors on the opportunities available to the disadvantaged. They are also demeaning in so far as they may be taken to suggest that those selected under a quota are otherwise not worthy. Nevertheless, some numerical standard of measurement is necessary to judge and, where needed, to assure the effectiveness of affirmative action programs. To pretend otherwise is to invite the show of affirmative action without the substance. It is to ignore the reality of the American genius at circumventing the spirit, if not the letter, of the law when it comes to distributing benefits to nonwhites and the poor.



It is inaccurate to say that affirmative action aids "minorities" against the advantages of the "majority." In fact professional schools routinely give preference to the richer, more powerful minority at the expense of the poorer, less powerful majority.

The social reality.

The need for affirmative action is dictated by the historical consequences and present-day limitations of American capitalism. That system of property and distribution, not a scarcity of resources, production capacities, or willing labor, has always restricted employment, income, education, and other necessities and benefits, far short of what the people need or are able to create.

Capitalism is still today unable to produce jobs and education for all who want them. Capitalists, moreover, exert their political power to prevent the people from developing the public sector to do what the capitalists will not permit in the private sector. Affirmative action is only an ameliorative measure to bring enough of the disadvantaged into the system as to keep them loyal to it.

But in so far as affirmative action, limited by capitalism, sets working people against one another in compe-

tition for artificially scarce jobs, education, and other opportunities and benefits, it also contributes to a greater awareness of the conflict between achieving a constitutional system dedicated to genuine equality and a corporate property system that requires inequality and mass deprivation. It sharpens the choice between a constitution guaranteeing real equality of rights, liberties and opportunities, and a social system incompatible with such a constitution.

If the U.S. Supreme Court, that august conservator of the Corporate Way, should strike down or cripple affirmative action, it will more powerfully than scores of revolutionary pamphlets, accelerate the spread of the awareness of that choice. It would make the high judicial body the author of a supreme irony of American history. An irony not without tears, but for a change not without joy as well.

Letters

The neutron bomb

Editor:

This week the House will discuss HR 6566, the Energy Research and Development Administration National Security Authorization Bill. Rep. Ted Weiss (D-NY) will introduce an amendment to delete funds for development, production, and deployment of "enhanced radiation weapons," with the Neutron Bomb being the current example.

Our disgust with the neutron bomb can be expressed by requests for support of the Weiss amendment by our respective House members through letters and other communications. But however vital these legislative initiatives are, they are inadequate when one views the issue of the neutron bomb in a larger perspective.

The system that spawned the neutron bomb has its roots in a technological arrogance, lust for state centralization, and uninterrupted militarism. The growing world-wide resistance to the twin nuclear dilemmas, nuclear weapons and power plants, are best exemplified and supported in this country by the Clamshell Alliance and other networks that are resisting the development of nuclear power, and by the National Mobilization For Survival, whose many local groups seek immediate nuclear disarmament and conversion of the death factories that produce these weapons.

House members may be persuaded, this time, to stop the funding of enhanced radiation weapons. But *much more* must be done to create a society where such madness is not even conceived.

—David Pingitore
San Francisco

So call us a magazine

Editor:

I just saw your ad in *The Progressive* and I want very much to read what you are putting out. However, there are some very serious contradictions. Newspapers were invented by a bad man and are no good. They are now all reactionary and constitute a hindrance. You should not set an example by choosing the format of a newspaper.

Government was also invented by a bad man in Roman times and is a terrible hindrance to the New Age. You quote Barry Commoner saying that the people, in effect, should learn to govern their own future. Did you really think about this?

Socialism means that the government runs everything. It is monstrous. How on earth did you choose that word? In the New Age God intends that writers use the right words. I am a writer and I have set a good example in this respect. My writings are all published, by Grove Press (New York), and the news about them has been widely spread abroad by the Liberals of the country.

Opinion is no good. It is one of the bad inventions that make up the mess on Earth. Newspapers have monopolized opinion for longer than I would care to think. It is not necessary. The Truth is all that matters. Writers who are working conscientiously nowadays can learn the Truth.

I cannot subscribe to your publication, no matter how excellent it is, as long as you call it a "Socialist newspaper." Put out a *magazine*. Plenty of money is available for good efforts.

—Don Bratton
Oxnard, Calif.

Tied up in Knots

Editor:

Concerning your "Kentucky group opens mine" piece in *Random Samples* (Sept. 14): Please be advised that Knott County is not "Knotts."

You cite as your source the *Self Reliance Newsletter*. I'm not sure who they are, or what credentials they have, but I recommend that you monitor *Mountain Life & Work* for news of the Knott County cooperative and of other Appalachian developments. *ML&W* is the mouthpiece of the Council of the Southern Mountains (Drawer N, Clintwood, Virginia 24228), an Appalachian group that acts as an umbrella organization for Citizens for Social and Economic Justice chapters in Knott County and in other counties throughout our region.

—Ken Sullivan
Beckley, W.Va.

We get his first check

Editor:

You are receiving the very first check I have ever written in my own name. This is because *In These Times* provides exactly the sort of coverage I need to counteract the propaganda of the papers and the pabulum of the networks. *ITT* is without a doubt the best political newspaper I've ever seen. It puts forth a coherent socialist perspective without being strident.

I particularly enjoy your coverage of unions (practically ignored by the regular media) and organizational affairs, reviews, and letters. Prosper and grow.

—Nathan Landau
New York City

A new prescription?

Editor:

I thought the two letters (*ITT*, Sept. 7) criticizing Roberta Lynch's column (*ITT*, Aug. 31) on the growth of the right raised some important points. I looked forward to reading Lynch's response. On reading it (*ITT*, Sept. 14), I was sorely disappointed.

Lynch never responded to the issues Ratner and Ferguson raised. On one hand she pleads lack of space, on the other she arrogantly dismisses the critique.

Apparently, working people's fears, concerns, and, yes, hatreds can only be understood within the syndrome of the right growing stronger and stronger. It is easy to find reasons not to take socialism to the people where they are, if you put on these spectacles. The left has worn the same eyeglasses since 1919—isn't it time for a new prescription?

—William Thorne
Chicago

A burden lifted from the soul

Editor:

Keep up your good work. The article by Robert Ross on the SDS reunion was moving and heartening. There must be thousands of us for whom the news of this reconciliation, symbolic though it must be for those not present, will lift a burden from the soul.

—Michael Ferber
New Haven, Ct.

Schlock in the supermarket of ideas

Editor:

What one believes about what goes on in the Soviet Union depends mainly on whom one believes, since few of us have the opportunity to check things out there in person.

We are at the mercy of our sources.

Most inappropriate, then, in my opinion, to the purposes of a journal that seeks to use critical analysis to separate empirical fact from true believer myth, was the sycophantic credulity that permeated John Judis's repetition of Plyushch's charges (*ITT*, Sept. 14).

Judis may look to his own words for the reason why his treatment of Plyushch should have manifested some degree of caution above the level of utter naivete.

"Plyushch sees . . . the growing unity . . . as being on the level of pre-bourgeois revolution," says Judis.

Having said that, Judis should have considered the possibility that Plyushch's charges might have been motivated, not by a purpose to produce a new, reformed, better version of socialism, as Plyushch apparently had Judis believing, but by a view that socialist forms are not appropriate for the solution of human problems.

In the supermarket of ideas operated by those with real power in the U.S. today, there is a "special" on the idea that the Soviet Union is an execrable violator of human rights. Like most supermarket specials, that item gets a lot of advertising. Might not all of us who have high hopes for *ITT* as an instrument of analytical clarity be a bit cautious before we allow it to be used to promoted what may be no more than schlock?

—Bernard Edwin Gallitz
Pacifica, Calif.

John Judis replies: Plyushch considers himself a socialist. His view is that the dissidents' struggle for democratic rights in the Soviet Union was the historical task of the bourgeois revolutionaries. In this sense he sees the dissidents' task as similar to that of czarist days. This view is shared by other socialist and marxist dissidents.

I don't see any reason, on this basis, to doubt that Plyushch is a socialist or, more important, to doubt his testimony that political dissent in the Soviet Union is much more often punished than encouraged or even condoned.

The American people can't be trusted, so let's trust the state

Editor:

That the American Civil Liberties Union is losing some left and liberal support for its defense of the "right" of the National Socialist Party to propagate racist ideology is encouraging. It illustrates that some Americans recognize the distinction between the right to attack ideas as ideas and the right to attack the natural being or origin of any individual.

ITT's "Suppression can be a two-edged sword" (Sept. 7) and Nat Hentoff's "The swastika is symbolic speech—even in Skokie" (*Civil Liberties*, Sept.) contain assumptions of social thought that are non-existent in the American social order: 1) access to the instruments of free speech is more or less equitable; 2) most Americans are free of racial bias; and 3) dominant economic interests have no stake in the preservation of racial hostilities.

ITT argues that a non-racist society cannot be legislated. True. But to claim that racism can be ended only through publicly exposing and combatting these ideas seems to me to ignore American history. The KKK has existed, dormant or active, for over 100 years. Their numbers and other Nazi-like groups, along with violence against blacks in particular, are on the increase.

The First Amendment, on the other hand, has been in existence for 186 years. Yet Cuba has accomplished far more in eradicating racism in the 17 years since its independence than its neighbor to the north has in its 201 years. *ITT* must view Cuba as a police state since it claims that "Acquiescence in attacks on the liberties of those on the right or left eventually nourishes a police state momentum against the liberties of all."

The "liberties of all" cannot exist in a class-race structured social formation. There just ain't no such animal. As a black, I will continually work for the abolition of the "rights" of any organization or individual to practice

and/or advocate the oppression of any racial/ethnic group for the benefit of any other. The proponents of racial subjugation have no rights that I am bound to respect.

The issue is racialism, not First Amendment rights. W.E.B. DuBois addresses that question: "Honest men may and must criticize America: describe how she has ruined her democracy, sold out her jury system and led her seats of justice astray. The only question that may arise is whether this criticism is based on truth, not whether it may be openly expressed."

—James C. Davis, Jr.
Santa Monica, Calif.

An open letter on the Nazis

Editor:

Members of the Nazi Party wish to hold public demonstrations on the streets of Skokie, Ill. The American Civil Liberties Union, in adherence with the First Amendment, supports their right to hold these demonstrations. As a result of the ACLU's position a substantial number of people have resigned from the organization.

We feel compassion for, and solidarity with, those who experienced the Holocaust and whose relatives and friends were its victims. Nevertheless, we believe the opposition to the ACLU stand on this issue plainly reflects the increasing tendency of many people to advocate authoritarian interference with expressions of ideas and attitudes they consider evil. As radicals and libertarians it is our duty to combat the growing spread of mind control ideology.

We hold the view that in our society pervasive manipulation of feeling and experience renders one's degree of freedom highly circumscribed. Nonetheless we wish to preserve whatever measure of freedom still exists and foster the ideal of liberty as essential to our vision of the new society. We therefore join the ACLU in its support of the Nazi Party's right to hold public demonstrations.

—Gwenda Blair, Mark Blumberg, Bruce Brown, Lancelot Fletcher, Dick Goldensohn, Mimi Hart, Marilyn Kaggen, Elliot Linzer, Staughton Lynd, David McReynolds, Margaret Mercer, Louise Rader, Igal Roodenko, Robert Roth, Arnold Sachar, Peter Sanders, Jo Tavener, Pete Wilson

What is it?

Editor:

Dan Marschall turned in a fine news report (*ITT*, Sept. 14) on the convention of the National United Workers Organization. But we need a deeper examination.

From Marschall's report one might conclude that the National Workers Organization is,

1. A revival of the "Wobbly" spirit of hell and thunder, or
2. Some sort of a "Syndicalist" movement, or
3. A terrorist gang, who today attacks a boss's headquarters and tomorrow may raid the premises of *ITT*, or
4. A bunch of provocateurs, who expose militant workers in order to identify and destroy them, or
5. An elite group who thinks it can manipulate people against their own best interests, and can avoid the tedious task of organizing people to fight for their own interest, or
6. None of the above.

From *ITT* we have a right to expect a socialist critique that tells us if it is beneficial to the socialist movement or something we shall have to overcome.

—Leon Blum
Plantation, Fla.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

Staughton Lynd

Labor and the law

How to be your own lawyer

In *These Times* will soon be celebrating the beginning of its second year. This column has appeared only once since early June but will henceforth appear regularly, in the first issue of each month. As the column along with the paper begins its second year, some general statements of policy or new year resolutions appear in order.

"Labor and the Law" is an experiment in making the technical discipline of labor law accessible to rank-and-file workers and their friends.

Some people, including some radical labor lawyers, think this is a crazy idea. A little knowledge is a dangerous thing, they believe. According to this view, when you need to know something about a technical subject such as labor law, you should go to the relevant technician: the lawyer.

I disagree. I think going to a lawyer should be your last resort. Very few working people have \$50 an hour to pay a lawyer. If the only way to know labor law is to go to a lawyer, most rank-and-file workers will do the best they can without that knowledge.

The assumption of this column is that, with a modest orientation, any one able to read can make a preliminary assessment of a labor law problem. Dr. Spock takes the same approach to medicine in his famous book on baby care. He says to the mother or father of young children: if your child shows symptom A, watch carefully to see if B or C appear as well; if they do, call a doctor; if they don't, your child will be able to become well by itself.

This column views your problems in

labor law similarly. My aim is not to teach you the law. It is to teach you how to teach yourself at least the broad outlines of the law, so that you can diagnose a labor law problem, just as you might size up what's wrong with the car engine.

For starters, instead of laying out that \$50 on a visit to a lawyer you might want to buy a few basic books.

Paperbound collections of Federal labor laws are available. One, called *Federal Labor Laws*, can be purchased from the West Publishing Company, 50 W. Kellogg Boulevard, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102. The most important laws to know about are: the Norris-LaGuardia Act; the National Labor Relations Act, or Wagner Act; the Fair Labor Standards, or Wages and Hours Act; the Taft-Hartley Act; the Landrum-Griffin Act; and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

To know what "the law is" about a problem, you have to know not only the text of the relevant statutes but also how that text has been interpreted by the National Labor Relations Board and the courts.

There are two books that can give you a general idea of what the law is about the most common labor law problems. The first is published by the Bureau of National Affairs, 9401 Decoverly Hall Road, Rockville, Maryland 28501 and is called *The Developing Labor Law*. It provides a comprehensive picture of the development of labor law under the National Labor Relations Act. The parent volume was published in 1971. There are supplements for 1971-75, and 1976.

Federal Labor Laws costs about \$15, and *The Developing Labor Law*, with both supplements, about \$35.

A second book, also published by the Bureau of National Affairs, is called *Labor Relations Expediter*. It does not make sense to purchase, because it is in looseleaf form and is constantly updated by BNA. It is available in any law library and should be your first port of call when you go to the library to look something up. Topics are arranged alphabetically, for instance, "Bargaining Units" comes before "Strikes." Use the index to try to determine what topic covers the problem you have in mind.

Labor Relations Expediter, unlike *The Developing Labor Law*, is part of a larger system of labor law research materials. Here's how it works.

Every topic in the *Expediter* has a number, known as a "key number." For instance, "Bargaining Units" has been assigned the key numbers 63 and 64. The Bureau of National Affairs periodically publishes a *Cumulative Digest* of cases. You can look in the *Digest* under the pertinent key number and find short summaries of the important cases decided about that topic since the previous *Digest* was published.

Each case summary in the *Digest* has a citation to the full text of the decision. The decisions are collected in a series of volumes called the *Labor Relations Reference Manual*, or *LRRM* for short. A citation begins with the volume number and ends with the page number on which the decision begins. Thus, *Royal Typewriter Co.*, 85 *LRRM* 1501 (1974), tells you to get volume 85 of the *Labor Rela-*

tions Reference Manual and look on page 1501 for a 1974 decision involving the Royal Typewriter Company.

With a little practice you will be able to locate the most recent decisions about any topic that interests you.

Believe me, when you take a labor law problem to a lawyer, the first thing he or she does when you leave the office is to take down *The Developing Labor Law*, *Labor Relations Expediter*, and the most recent *Cumulative Digests*, and go through the process I have just described.

You may want a lawyer to double-check your own research, of course. But I believe you will feel far more independent and self-sufficient if you have attempted to arrive at a first approximation of the answer for yourself.

As in the past, I will welcome inquiries, criticisms, and comments from readers. My address is 1694 Timbers Court, Niles, Ohio 44446. During the day I can be reached at (216) 743-5101.

Finally, a small paperback book containing this column, a summary of the basic labor laws, and a selection of last year's columns, will be published soon by Singlejack Books, Box 1906, San Pedro, Cal. 90733, with the title *Labor Law for the Rank and Filer*. I don't know the price yet but I imagine you can find out by writing the publisher.

Staughton Lynd, a longtime civil rights and antiwar activist, practices law in Youngstown, Ohio. He and Alice Lynd edited Rank and File, Personal Histories by Working-Class Organizers. His column appears regularly.

Jack Clark

Coalition to combat unemployment

Speaking at the rally organized by the New York Full Employment Action Council on September 7, Ossie Davis reminded us that we had been here before. "In the early '60s in places like Selma and Birmingham, in 1963 in Washington D.C., we took to the streets demanding jobs and freedom." With the battle not yet won, we're taking to the streets and to the meeting halls again. September 4-10, leaders of the Full Employment Action Coalition called for a Full Employment Week. There were meetings and rallies and delegations to see members of Congress in city after city. In Washington, top black leaders, trade unionists and church leaders put pressure on President Carter who sounded as if he might endorse the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, if it were modified to provide fewer public service jobs.

Such activity is a welcome relief from the years of inactivity on jobs. Since the recession hit hard in 1974, commentators and Congressional representatives alike noted how quiet, even acquiescent, the jobless were. And how inactive the trade unions, the black organizations and the women's movement were in the face of rising joblessness that hurt them all. Carter's election helped to change that situation. Swept into office by the votes of working people and minority groups, on a platform that promised full employment, Carter's presidency raised expectations in spite of itself. Now there is a chance that their protests and demands may be heard. The inertia has been broken; the demand for jobs is being voiced on the grass-roots level.

But the movement for full employment has a long, long way to go. It is beset by a massive ideological assault from the new conservatives and by tensions among constituencies that need to be united in the full employment struggle

if we are to achieve jobs for all.

Much has been written on the decline of liberalism and the split within the liberal community. Nowhere is the evidence of a shift rightward more evident than on the issue of full employment. As Robert Lekachman has noted, Carter, if successful, will by 1981 reach an unemployment figure that prompted President Kennedy to stimulate the economy in 1961-62. From the larger liberal community, there has been little protest. On the contrary, fear of inflation, recently discovered wisdom about the limits of public policy and a cynical dismissal of the suffering of millions of women, blacks, Hispanics and young people have combined to make full employment an unpopular issue among most policy-makers. This mood combines nicely with the prevalent attitude in the business community where top personnel executives are discovering what disciplinary wonders fear of unemployment can accomplish.

The fate of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill reflects this dismal climate. Like the Full Employment Act of 1945 later signed into law as the Employment Act of 1946, Humphrey-Hawkins has gone through several stages of toning down in an effort to broaden its sponsorship and support. It seems unlikely to ever become law. Carter's latest statements urging further modification amount to a request that the full employment legislative goal be redefined to fit the conservative targets set by Charles Schultze and Carter's Council of Economic Advisors.

The new conservative (and not so new conservative) right has clearly defined its program and has mobilized its intellectual and political strength. So far, the pro-full employment left has done neither. The activity around Full Em-

ployment Week, though limited and modest in scope, was important precisely because it begins to change that political situation.

At the same rally where Ossie Davis spoke, New York City Central Labor Council President Harry Van Arsdale was greeted with boos when he linked the problem of unemployment to the number of illegal aliens in the country. At an earlier Full Employment meeting, several trade unionists spoke passionately of the need for jobs building the Westway and a convention center, two projects just as passionately opposed by strong neighborhood groups and community activists.

Socialists need to do more than decry the limited consciousness of workers caught in the bind of building bombers or unneeded highways or facing joblessness. Ever since its February convention, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee has been working to begin making full employment a central concern for all the progressive constituencies with which socialists work.

So far, the project has won support of leaders of four major progressive unions, the Machinists, the Auto Workers, AFSCME and the Clothing and Textile Workers, of Environmentalists for Full Employment and Friends of the Earth, of the chairs of two state Democratic parties and of the New American Movement, members of the Congressional Black Caucus, several major feminist leaders, the new Democratic Coalition and independent liberals and radicals.

The Democratic Agenda project will be officially launched at a November 11, 12 and 13 conference in Washington D.C. Not only will that conference seek to bring together the elements of this di-

verse coalition, but it will also engage in frank and difficult discussions of some of the major problems a full employment movement faces. William Winpinger who as president of the International Association of Machinists probably represents more aerospace and defense workers than any other union leader, will address himself to the problems of reconversion. Trade unionists and liberal economists will express their disagreements over policies of price and wage controls. A Friday night panel on what alternatives our society faces will feature views from environmentalists, black activists, trade unionists.

Most important, on the Sunday of the conference, we will divide up into the groups we usually function in to discuss what we can do to spread our ideas and continue the discussions begun at the conference. The Democratic Agenda's four point program for a full employment economy (democratic planning, wealth and income redistribution, social over corporate priorities in government policy and cuts in arms spending) will need to be fleshed out in the concrete work following the conference, but they provide a framework for broad, coherent work around full employment.

Like the full employment movement as a whole, The Democratic Agenda has a long way to go. But its promising beginnings indicate that it may be possible to place the issue of jobs into the center of American political and economic debate. If so, we are posing directly the question of whether government economic policy is meant to serve human needs or corporate profit.

Jack Clark is National Secretary of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

DIALOG



Cartoons, clichés, and clenched fists or a cartoonist's lament

I've been doing some thinking recently about left political art and would like to share some thoughts with *ITT* readers. Just what makes for honest and effective political art? Since I'm most familiar with them, let's look at editorial cartoons first.

The requirements of editorial cartoons ironically define its limits and account for its power. The necessity to distill a complex political situation down into a single image incorporating, at most, a handful of figures and a few props means that a good editorial cartoon must risk oversimplification for the sake of impact.

Editorial cartoons have played no small role in promoting that favorite American habit of reducing politics to personalities. The grin of a Carter or the scowl of a Nixon are far easier to capture and dramatize than the dry impersonality of "Foreign Policy." Likewise, the raw conflict between moral black and white is grist for the cartoonist's mill in a way that nuances of grey can never be. Thus the Cold War was a boon to mainstream cartoonists while Detente is often merely confusing.

An examination of the symbolic language of political cartoons is particularly relevant to those concerned with art from a left perspective. Most cartoonists rely on symbolic clichés in their work (Uncle Sam, for instance) simply because no better alternatives have been proposed. Even if symbols like John Q. Public or the stogie-smoking congressman do not really reflect reality, they keep getting used because they've stood the test of time and are immediately recognizable to most of us.

The task of left artists working with cartoons is to get to the heart of a situation, portray the essential kernel of truth and comment on it. If it can be done humorously, all the better. The function of left poster or flyer art, by way of contrast, is slightly different: to catch the passerby's eye, build support for an event, group or point of view, and encourage participation or sympathy.

The challenge before artists in either area is to avoid simplistic statements—and this may mean the jettisoning of

some hoary left clichés. Few cartoonists (myself included) have escaped the use of horrific world-enveloping menaces (be they Octopuses of Imperialism for the left, or Cobras of Communism for the right) when portraying the "enemy." In fact most of these symbols (spiders, beasts, wolves, arch-villains, etc.) have been used interchangeably by the left and right in characterizing each other.

Even if such symbols are sometimes justified—the fact remains that they are no longer potent in mobilizing public opinion one way or the other. Whether due to increased sophistication or jaundiced apathy, your average citizen simply does not believe them when they are used.

Another set of clichés in need of reexamination are clenched fists, upraised arms and flag-waving demonstrators. On posters or in left newspapers these clichés are supposed to move others to action—yet such symbols resonate only in the skulls of those who already agree with them, (a small minority of those seeing them). Such "radical" art is mainly self-affirmation by the artist and his or her peers. It is an expression of the artist's appreciation of directed anger, of unified resistance, of the emotional thrill of demonstrating . . . but as persuasion it is ineffective.

Another cliché is a figure holding high a rifle. This, it is assumed, will strike a chord of response in the poor viewer's breast. Why this should be is never explained. Pictures of revolutionaries brandishing guns are, in fact, a form of political pornography that arouses revolutionaries who imagine themselves heroically in the place of the "people's soldiers" on the posters. But as with the thrill experienced by a flasher, the audience is unmoved.

One reason commercial advertising is so successful is its utter pragmatism—its willingness to do what "works"—to target an audience and speak to it in its own language. Few ads try to reach everyone; advertisers realize that is impossible. Yet "radical" propaganda finds it ethically necessary to "appeal" (however ineptly) to all (blacks, whites, women, gays, Indians, latinos, etc.) for to leave anyone out would be racist, sexist, etc. This heightens the likelihood that none will be reached except the already committed.

Most "radical" art is thus caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. It tries to appeal to everyone with imagery that interests almost no one. In a weird cultural imperialism in reverse, we find Marxist-Leninist groups importing and using socialist-realist imagery from China, Vietnam, or Albania in an apparent attempt to

influence Americans. Not only is this hopeless to begin with (not to mention incredibly unimaginative) but it fails to take into consideration the fundamental fact that Americans are among the most visually sophisticated and satiated people in the world. Ideological wall-posters that are gobbled up in China would be absolute stiff here. Why then think that the art that accompanies those wall posters will be any more appropriate here? One wonders.

If our poster and visual art suffer from inappropriate "militant" clichés, the problems with political cartoons are somewhat different. By trying to describe and distill instead of motivate, the cartoonists avoid having to appeal to everyone, but they are still faced with the use of clichés for symbols. Here the most difficult task is making a few key figures represent diverse groups or concepts.

For instance, I received some (not unthoughtful) criticism several months back for an *ITT* cartoon where I portrayed "Unions" as a somewhat muscular white male (an admittedly rather dull cliché of 20th century cartooning). Was this not unsatisfactory in that the unions in question included blacks and women, for example, as well? Was, perhaps, a white male symbol implicitly racist and sexist, no matter what the intent?

Probably so, yet it is hard to hypothesize acceptable single-figure symbols that are simultaneously all-inclusive, specific and effective. Cartoons of necessity deal with few figures . . . turning every cartoon into a crowd scene might guarantee a token symbol for all—but would soon prove so unwieldy as to discourage the most diligent cartoonist. The single-figure solutions that come to mind: sexless, raceless nebulas; multi-colored, multi-sexed androgynes (ala Hindu goddesses); geometric shapes, etc.; all lack a certain something. The problem remains, and will be with us until we achieve a society of equality, where *any* figure would stand for all. Meanwhile, using men, women and minorities as interchangeably as possible (while avoiding confusion) seems the best approach.

Creating a revolutionary culture in non-revolutionary times means walking a tight-rope between the inaccessible and the banal . . . between giving people what we think they need and what they think they want. There's no single solution or formula for the task. When in doubt, try something new and risky. The old clichés guarantee nothing but boredom.

—Jay Kinney
San Francisco

The social composition of the French Socialist party is as important as the intentions of its leaders

The key question in the discussion of internal political developments in the French Socialist party (*ITT*; Sept. 7) is whether it will back off from its alliance with the Communists before the 1978 elections, or from implementation of the Common Program at a point when a transition from capitalist to socialist society is the order of the day.

We ought to be wary of too mechanically interpreting tactical setbacks for the SP's left (the CERES group) as an arrow pointing toward "betrayal" by Mitterand. Marxists place primary emphasis on social forces in

making history—and so how the SP's base is apt to behave in the complex political configurations that surround the forthcoming elections is equally important.

To begin with, the Socialist voters are young (a third are under age 34). Many of them have been formed politically in the events of 1968 and in the alliance with the Communist Party since 1972. A full third of the blue-collar workers, as well as a third of the white-collar employees in France now vote Socialist. (Many of these belong to the Communist led trade union federation: 29 percent of the members of the C.G.T. support the Socialist Party at the voting booth.)

This suggests—as does the underlying phenomenon that the resurgence of the Socialists has come about precisely through their alliance with the French Communist Party—that a substantial part of the SP is oriented toward common action in making a transition toward socialism.

On the other hand, there is a sector of the Socialist Party that is hostile to the Communists and less favorable to nationalizations and other structural reforms. After all, a fifth of the current Socialist voters supported the center against Mitterand in 1974! And it is certainly possible that some who wish to prevent the overthrow of French capitalism will adhere to the Socialist Party precisely to pressure it from within to attenuate its support for the Common Program.

Of course, the creation of a left majority requires winning over a considerable number of those who previously supported the bourgeois parties, so this development is undoubtedly a positive one. But it indicates that there is an internal volatility inside the Socialist Party—consequent to its heterogeneity—that the Communists may not be able to contain. Given the "cult of the personality" around the charismatic Mitterand, this danger becomes all the more acute.

Furthermore, the leadership of the Socialist Party gives pause. Unlike the Communists, where manual workers play an essential role in political leadership, the SP has *no* workers among its leading national organ, parliamentary group, or mayors. Overwhelmingly the direction of the SP is in the hands of government functionaries (especially teachers and college professors). While it is true that these men largely come from families of modest means—but white-collar and professional homes, not proletarian ones—they have achieved a very high degree of personal "upward social mobility" through superior education.

What we see therefore, is a heterogeneous base led by a homogeneous and narrow stratum. The debate at the Convention between the CERES group and the majority was one carried on among a particular sector of the French intelligentsia. I think, therefore, it would be a mistake to draw too sweeping conclusions from it as to what is apt to happen if the left attains power in France.

So far, at least, no one has been able to predict the circumstances under which transitions to socialism succeed or fail. While we do know some limiting conditions, the question ultimately turns on the combativity and coherence of the working class, along with the disintegration of the hegemonic bloc led by the capitalists.

Too narrow a "political" focus, an unfortunate tendency in some *ITT* commentary, tends to underestimate the underlying class and social forces that are decisive for major political transformations. Wherever possible we should integrate these diverse phenomena into an overall perspective on historical change. In this regard, some reporting from the "base" in factories and offices would be a helpful supplement to the articles now appearing.

—Ed Greer
Chicago

LIFE IN THE U.S.

The Shaping of Technology—Part II

Creating the college factory

by David F. Noble

During the first few decades of the 20th century the processes of modern science and technology were brought under control by private capital. Last week's article, Part I, traced the ways in which corporate interests organized industrial and university research in their interest. This article will look at their effect upon the educational system.

Until relatively late in the 19th century colleges and universities were dominated by classicists and clerics, both of whom shared a disdain for the practical arts and money-making enterprise. Colleges tended to remain removed from the steadily expanding realm of industry, with its noisy shops and less noisy counting-houses.

They were ill equipped to keep pace with the rapidly changing industrial state of the art and students were generally given instruction in obsolete methods with outdated equipment. Engineering educators of the period were preoccupied with enhancing their academic position and emphasized scientific theorizing and mathematics at the expense of practical training.

Perhaps most importantly, graduates were imbued with the aristocratic arrogance of a university elite, the entrepreneurial spirit of laissez-faire capitalism, or the scientific zeal for untrammelled inquiry—traits that hardly suited them for efficient, loyal employment as subordinates in authoritarian corporate enterprise.

Corporation schools.

In response the major industrial concerns employing college graduates as engineers set up their own in-house schools. These "corporation schools" were designed to habituate college graduates to industrial employment, to give them additional technical training and the proper business point of view, to teach them how to follow orders.

The importance of these schools in the training of generations of engineers should not be underestimated. In electrical engineering, for example, the college graduate during the first three decades of this century had of necessity to become a "testman" at Schenectady, or a "special apprentice" at Pittsburgh in order to complete his professional training. Along the way he usually learned to see the world as his superiors at G.E. or Westinghouse saw it.

In addition to their actual educational function the corporation schools constituted an important phase in the evolution of modern personnel management; pioneering in methods of testing, rating, selecting and classifying graduates, of "scientifically" fitting the man to the job.

In a very practical way the in-house training programs of these early corporate enterprises were the models for higher education as a whole in the 20th century.

Changing the colleges.

In the first two decades of this century the attention of corporate educators shifted back to the established colleges and universities. They began to see as their most pressing task getting the corporations out of the education business, which meant they had to get the colleges and universities to do the job "right" the first time.

Operating through such agencies as the National Association of Corporation



Corporate educators succeeded in getting the corporations out of training engineers by getting the universities to take over the job.

Schools (NACS, forerunner to the American Management Association) and the Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education (SPEE), they strove to transform the universities into efficient processing plants—"factories" as they usually referred to them—for the production, selection, and distribution of the human material required by industry.

A major step forward in that process was the cooperative education movement, begun in the engineering school of the University of Cincinnati in 1907, and pressed ahead enthusiastically by NACS and SPEE.

"The aim of the course," Dean Herman Schneider boasted, "is not to make a so-called pure engineer; it is frankly intended to make an engineer for commercial production . . . This system will furnish to the manufacturer a man skilled both in theory and practice, and free from the defects concerning which so much complaint is made."

The cooperative course successfully brought the school into the shop; students spent alternating periods in the factory of a cooperating firm and in the classroom of the school. In this way, students were able to get the "proper" business point of view, the necessary habits of industrial discipline and corporate subservience while still in school.

The movement spread rapidly throughout the country, at the prompting of both industrialists and corporate reformers among engineering educators. By the 1920s variants on the cooperative plan were introduced at such schools as M.I.T., University of Pittsburgh, Northeastern, Tufts, Drexel, Case, Union College, Marquette, New York University, Antioch and Harvard, and included liberal arts students as well as undergraduate engineers.

Testing and classifying.

While the cooperative education movement established closer industry-education interaction, other corporate reform innovations had the purpose of rationalizing the "processing plants" themselves.

The corporate educators were ardent

promoters of testing programs and efficient selection, rating and classifying processes. Charles Mann, the author of the first national study of engineering education in the U.S. (sponsored by SPEE and funded by the Carnegie Foundation) explained the primary purpose of introducing testing into the schools, in an address to NACS in 1914:

"The one point that I want to bring out clearly to you," Mann stressed, "is that definite objective tests which define the type of ability which you wish to have developed are the most valuable, not only to yourselves as employers in selecting your help, but also as your most powerful means of controlling what is done in the school."

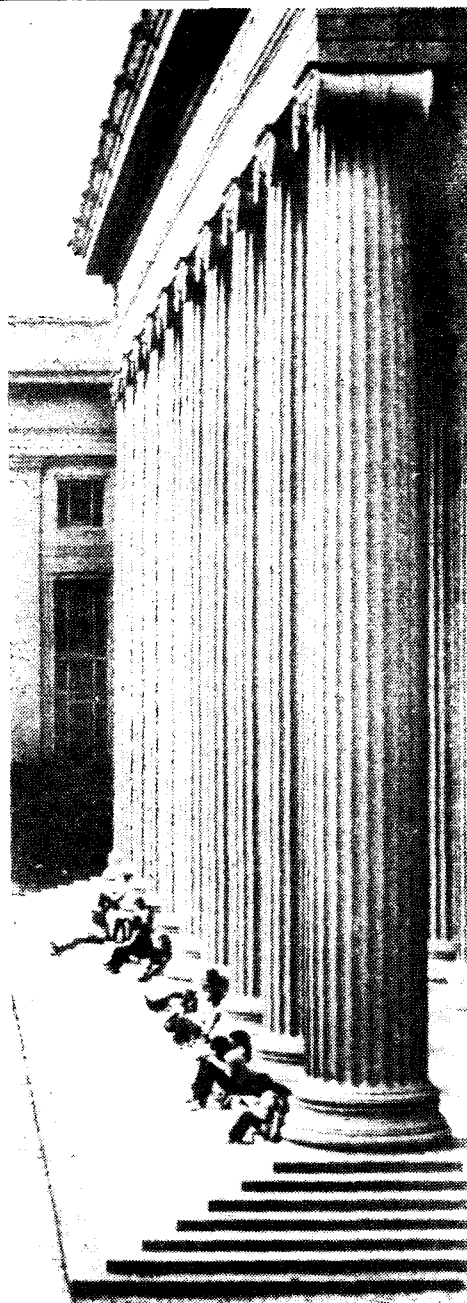
The development of testing procedures for evaluating the aptitude of students, advanced considerably by the corporation schools, was paralleled by the creation of mechanisms for selecting and distributing the educational products. The first placement bureau in an American university, for example, was established at Kansas State College by G.E. engineer Andrey A. Potter, who served as both dean of engineering and president of the local Chamber of Commerce.

Big push during WWI.

The biggest push toward the rationalization of higher education came during WWI. During the war the nation's colleges came under the authority of the War department Committee on Education and Special Training. The committee was composed of corporate educators from firms like Westinghouse and Western Electric, as well as leaders from SPEE, all of whom had donned uniforms for the duration.

With the authority of the War department behind them these corporate educators were able to introduce many of their educational innovations with relative ease, while conditioning a good many other educators to produce according to specifications, industrial as well as military.

After the war the corporate reform of higher education was continued under other auspices: the National Research



Council, SPEE and, perhaps most important, the new American Council on Education (ACE).

Dominated from the outset by War department committee members Samuel Capen and Charles Mann, both prime movers in corporate educational reform, ACE quickly became the chief sponsor of the new "science of education," and promoter of testing in the schools. (ACE testing programs coalesced eventually into the Educational Testing Service.)

Revolution and counter-revolution.

Thus, it was during the first half of the 20th century, and at the initiative of "reformers" from science-based industry, that American colleges and universities were retooled to fit the contours of a corporate, technological society.

As in the mythical Land of Oz, the Wizards of our technological society have been human—particular people working to achieve what they believed to be a rational, humane, "better" social order. They were, in a sense, agents of both a revolution and a counter-revolution.

On the one hand corporate reformers from science-based industry were moved by "destiny," seeking to foster scientific progress and thereby reduce human toil and misery. On the other hand they were moved by the specific historical needs of corporate capitalism, striving to channel scientific progress along lines that were compatible with the requirements of corporate stability and expansion.

In their work the contradiction between science and commerce, between technical rationality and market irrationality—the tension that Marx and Veblen thought would ultimately tear capitalism apart—collapsed and softened in practice. Modern technology—the people as well as the things—became a vehicle of corporate power, an extension of authority, a reinforcement of existing social relations.

David F. Noble is Mellon Fellow in Humanities and Engineering at M.I.T. and the author of *America by Design: Science, Technology and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (Knopf).

By Paul Goldman,
Peter Dreier, and
Mimi Goldman

SPORTS

Jim Bouton follows his dream

In 1970 ex-New York Yankee pitcher Jim Bouton shook the baseball world with *Ball Four*, a best-selling irreverent inside look at life in the "biggies." *I'm Glad You Didn't Take It Personally* followed a year later.

We caught Jim Bouton and some of his Portland Maverick teammates during a minor league game in Eugene. Bouton, age 38 and attempting to knuckleball his way back into the big leagues, was expansive and relaxed even after having been knocked out of the box by an eight-run barrage in the third inning by the Eugene Emeralds, the Cincinnati Reds "single-A" minor league team.

As a hard-throwing Yankee pitcher Bouton won 21 games in 1963 and two World Series games. The Yankees let Bouton go when his arm gave out, but Bouton hung on with the Houston Astros, Seattle Pilots and a few minor league teams until 1970, when he called it quits, saying he couldn't drag his family through the minors again.

He then cashed in his "celebrity" status and spent several years as ABC-TV's nightly sportscaster in New York. He also played the lead in a TV version of *Ball Four*, which played for 13 weeks last year.

Having made the circuit—from the minor league where he started in 1959, to the majors, and now back to the minors—Bouton is ideally suited to describe the changes in minor league baseball.

Less desperate and uptight.

The most important change has been in the attitudes of both players and management. Minor leaguers are "less desperate" and "uptight" than they used to be, he says. While each player still wants to make it to the majors, and usually believes that he is good enough to do it, failure seems less traumatic. "They understand that the most important thing in life isn't hitting a ball with a stick."

Demographic changes have played a part in this transition. The days when a small-town high school star could jump to the high minor leagues or even the big time are over. According to Bouton, the typical new baseball talent is a young white from the suburbs of the sunbelt where baseball is played all year. Many players also have at least a couple of years of college (and college ball) under their belts when they sign their first contract.

Changes in the structure of baseball itself may have reduced the pressure too. Once there were over a hundred minor leagues; almost every small town in the U.S. boasted its own farm team and local heroes. Today only seventeen minor leagues remain.

The demise of the minors reflects the rise of televised baseball and the emergence of colleges as a free farm system, weeding out players who previously would have toiled in the minors. As a result, fewer players get an opportunity to play in the minors, but those who are signed by pro clubs have a realistic—though still small—chance of making it. About seven percent reach the majors.

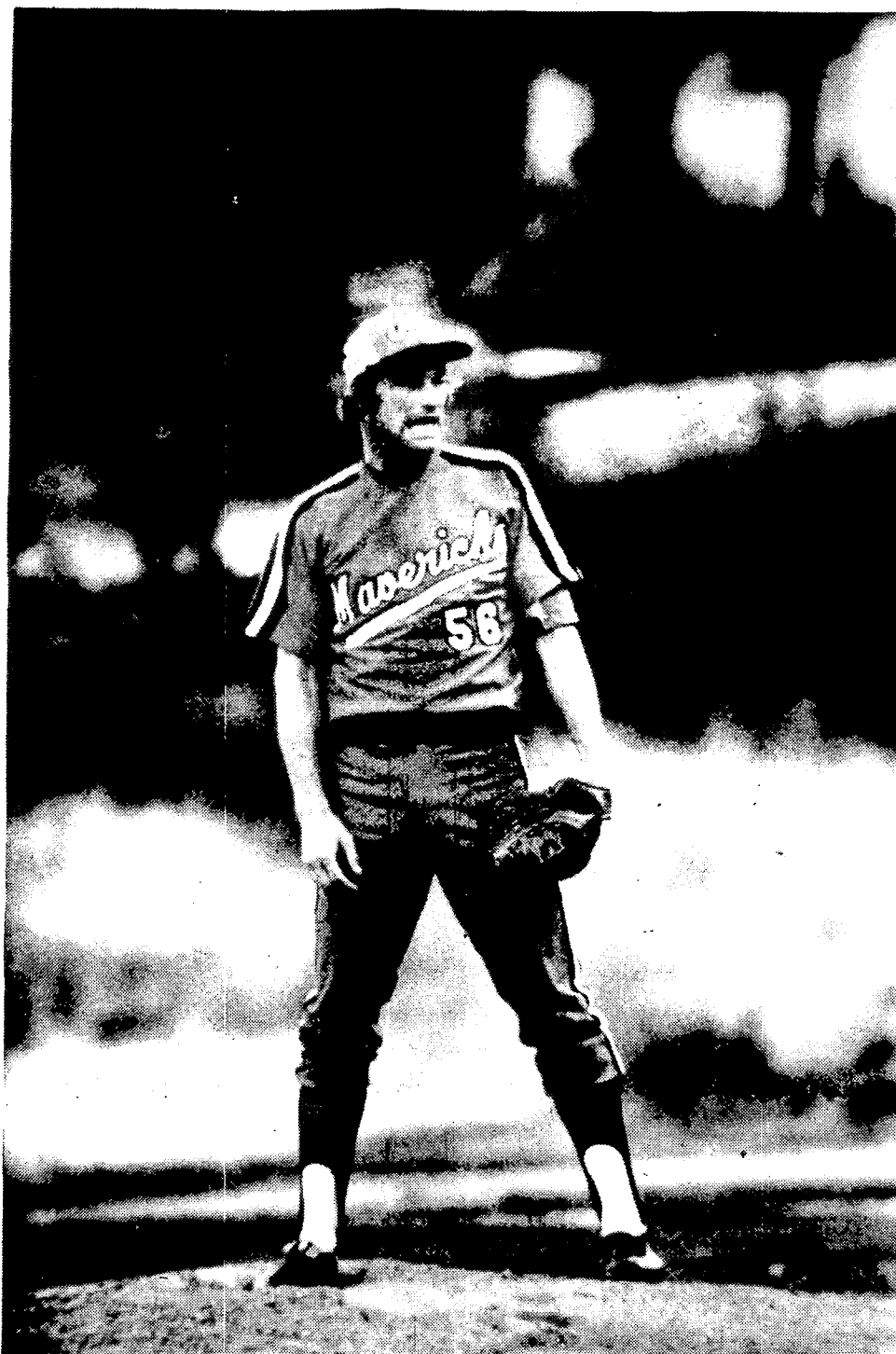
Bouton recalled that when he joined the Yankee system in 1959 (after a year at Western Michigan University) there were 100 minor league pitchers above him on the various Yankee farm teams. Now each major league team owns only three minor league clubs and keeps careful track of its young players.

Hungriest team in baseball.

Independent teams like Bouton's Portland Mavericks sign players passed up by major league scouts, and often field a team of older players.

All players on the Mavs earn \$400 per month during their June through August baseball season. All have regular off-season jobs—as lumberjacks, sporting goods salesmen, schoolteachers, bartenders, and so on. Several even hold jobs during the season, forcing them to miss road trips on occasion.

Few Mavs expect a major league club



Bouton is working on his knuckleball, an "old man's pitch" that is effective and easier on the arm.

Jim Bouton has made the circuit—from the minor leagues, to the majors, and now back to the minors, with a couple of books and a newscasting stint in between.

will sign them, but almost all we interviewed hope to give it "one more year" before giving up on their dream.

In the team's five-year existence under owner Bing Russell the Mavs have yet to send a player to the major leagues. Of 13 Mavs signed by pro teams, only two have gone as far as the "triple-A" level and both quit after a brief stint. With those odds, Russell comments that "this is the hungriest team in all of baseball."

For the Eugene Emeralds, minor league life is only slightly better. All have contracts with the Cincinnati Reds. The Reds front office likes to sign young players (average age on the Ems is 19), and a relatively high proportion of Latin ballplayers.

Pat Ingraham, a 21-year old center-fielder from the Bahamas, is the team's leading hitter, batting close to .400. He earns \$600 a month for June, July and August and works in a carpentry shop in Freeport during the off-season.

Now in his third year at Eugene, In-

graham says he'll give pro baseball another two or three years. "You don't know where you're going to be next year, or even next week." The Reds could shift him to their AA or AAA farm teams or release him altogether.

Ingraham, like many of his teammates, doesn't have a college degree or other career plans if he strikes out in baseball. "I try not to think about that," he says.

John Underwood, the Em's manager, is only 22 years old and reflects a trend in minor league management. There are few jobs available for the grizzled old veteran whose main qualification is that he is a crony of the big club's manager. This has resulted in a more relaxed atmosphere on minor league teams with less stress on conformity.

Play to win and have fun.

Still, the Ems enforce some degree of discipline, such as nightly bedchecks.

The independent Mavs, in contrast, view the game differently. "All we do is play to win, chase women, drink and have fun," says the Mavs' Russell, a Hollywood actor best known for his long stint on TV's *Bonanza*.

Which regimen is best? Few individual Mavs will climb much higher in pro baseball, but as a team they are the winningest club in the Northwest League.

Everyday life in the six-team league hasn't changed much. All the teams are within 300 miles of each other, but eight or ten hour bus trips still give the minors an aura of "a traveling circus," in the words of one player. A few players commute on the shorter trips.

The three-month Northwest League circuit—Salem, Eugene, Portland, Grays Harbor, Bellingham, and Walla Walla—suggest that the small city, but not the small town, has survived the decline of the minor leagues. Attendance at Eugene's rickety Civic Stadium—which the local government almost condemned earlier in the summer and which will close unless someone comes up with \$38,000 in repairs—averages under 1,000. Portland attracts more fans and Bellingham fewer. Few minor league teams are money-making operations.

Bouton is adamant that a strike would be a total failure in the minor leagues—unlike the majors, where a 1972 strike cut into the season. "Minor league ballplayers have absolutely no leverage. None. If every minor leaguer went on strike, they'd go three years without letting them play," Bouton says. "The first minor leaguer who stood up in the clubhouse to call for a union would be found in the river with cement spikes on!"

Following a dream.

Politically, Bouton's a liberal humanist, but he's also very individualistic, a hustler. He was recently asked to do a TV commercial for a Portland lumber company. "If it's a choice between ravaging the environment and a couple of hundred bucks," he says, smiling but slightly guilty, "I'd take the bucks."

Bouton made \$80,000 a year as a broadcaster, compared to his six year major league average of \$19,000. Joining the Mavs in early July, after being released by the "double A" Knoxville Sox, Bouton gets the same \$400 a month as everyone else.

He sold his \$125,000 home in the New Jersey suburbs and bought a less expensive house nearby, but he doesn't know what he'll do after the season is over. He expects to be back in Portland next summer, maybe play winter league ball in Latin America in-between.

He has few regrets leaving TV sportscasting behind. "I decided that my day to day happiness is more important."

How does Jim Bouton—baseball's iconoclast, a minor culture hero—fit into this old fashioned game played by young men? The minor league players—many half his age and away from home for the first time—look at Bouton as a guru who rose to fame with the Yankees and fortune with his book and TV, but who still just enjoys playing baseball. He relates easily to these young men because he shares with them the same dream.

More than anything else, Jim Bouton wants to play baseball, preferably once again in the majors. He's not planning another book because that would impair the concentration needed to perfect his knuckleball—an "old man's" pitch that is difficult to control but both effective and easier on the arm. Bouton knocks the mystification of baseball and the baseball establishment, but not the game itself.

For Bouton, even after a 21-game season, two World Series victories, and a successful career outside baseball, pitching in the big leagues is still his biggest dream. For millions of other young men, old men and a growing number of women as well, that dream still has a powerful influence on their lives.

The three authors teach sociology—Paul and Mimi Goldman at the University of Oregon, Peter Dreier at Tufts University. All are available for the next player draft.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

PERFORMANCE



Lily Tomlin and Bette Midler were among the headliners at the Hollywood "Celebration for Human Rights." "You payed \$50 to this?" Midler asked.

Midler shines, Pryor fumes at Hollywood rights gala

The concert was announced in a spectacular two-page ad in the *Los Angeles Times* as "A Celebration for Human Rights"—starring Bette Midler, Richard Pryor and Lily Tomlin (in that order).

Producer Aaron Russo was quoted on the purpose of the event—"to make clear to the eyes and ears of the country that the entertainment industry feels deeply about human rights." A list of notables endorsed the concert and the concept: Woody Allen, Richard Avedon, Candice Bergen, Ray Bradbury, Lauren Bacall, Phyllis Diller, Alice Cooper, George Gobel, Roosevelt Grier, Chevy Chase, Garson Kanin, Eartha Kitt, Burt Lancaster, Shirley MacLaine, Joni Mitchell, Mayor George Moscone (of San Francisco), Paul Newman, Linda Ronstadt, Tommy Smothers and Barbra Streisand, et al.

A crowd that paid between \$5 and \$50 per ticket filled the Hollywood Bowl to capacity Sunday night (Sept. 18), and the gross (all of it going to the *Save Our Human Rights Foundation*) was estimated at \$350,000. As an answer to Anita Bryant & Co., the concert was a big success.

As entertainment it was not so successful.

It began with an all-too-brief bit by Lily Tomlin, for which she received a standing ovation. But when people stood during the four hours of "surprise" entertainment that followed, it was frequently to find their way to the parking lot. The surprises



Photos by Sherry Rayn Barnett

Producer Russo apologizes for Pryor's tirade.

included ballet dancers Johnna Kirland and John Clifford, the singing group War, David Steinberg and too many others. But the big surprise of the evening was a monolog by Richard Pryor, whose second comedy series is currently on NBC.

Pryor, whose live routines have always been laced with obscenities, launched into what

was either a tasteless satire on gays, or a criticism of the concert for "emphasizing gay rights over other human rights"—depending on who is interpreting. The audience was at first stunned and then angry. Jeers and boos got to Pryor, who shifted from his original focus to an attack on the predominantly white audience for hypocrisy. "Where were you all when Watts was being burned down?" he asked. "you were doing what you wanted to do on Hollywood Boulevard and didn't give a damn about it."

Before he was booed off the stage and into his waiting limousine, Pryor got in one more lick: "This is an evening about human rights and I'm a human being. And I just wanted to see where you're really at."

Producer Russo followed with an unscheduled personal appearance—to apologize. But it took Bette Midler to pull the divided crowd together.

The energy generated by Midler's extraordinary musical talent, which was enhanced by the Harlettes, stopped the exodus. Her spontaneous evaluation of the affair did a lot to defuse the distress. Her "You mean you paid \$50 for this?" brought the kind of universal guffaw that was needed.

It all ended in a blaze of fireworks, orchestral overtones of "The Star Spangled Banner," and neon salutes to "liberty and justice for all."

—Sherry Rayn Barnett
Sherry Rayn Barnett is a free lance photographer in L.A.

Chicago Readers

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—John Conyers
Member of Congress,
1st District, Michigan

NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES

David Milton analyses the changes in China; a look into what the new FBI director will have to face; a report on some secret CIA research; "Lifeitselfmanship";

an excerpt from Jessica Mitford's *A Fine Old Conflict*; corporate abuse by Southwestern Bell; and Gulf & Western's shenanigans on the set of *Sorcerer*.

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Records



Soul Syndicate, Jamaica's foremost

Reggae and soul successfully merged

**HARVEST UPTOWN/
FAMINE DOWNTOWN**
By Soul Syndicate
Epiphany Records

It's incredible that this should be the first independent record by a group with the stature of Soul Syndicate, considered by

many to be Jamaica's foremost musicians. For the past five years they have won Jamaica's *Swing* magazine poll as the island's top recording group and have appeared as a back-up group on over half of all recently recorded records in Jamaica. (The groups they have backed make up a pantheon of Reggae artists: Bob Marley and the Wailers, Burning Spear, Toots and the Maytals, the Heptones, Jimmy Cliff, the Mighty Diamonds, etc.)

In both its music and its politics *Harvest Uptown/Famine Downtown* is a superb album, which ranks with Peter Tosh's *Equal Rights* (ITT, June 15) as the best Reggae album released this year. It represents the most successful merger of Reggae and soul music I've ever heard.

With a band as proficient on their instruments as Soul Syndicate, it is difficult to single out any one musician for praise. But I was knocked out by the innovative phrasings of lead gui-

tarist Earl "Chinna" Smith; the bass of George "Fully" Fullwood, who plays the most melodic bass lines this side of Motown and Paul McCartney; and the power and clarity of lead vocalist Donovan Carless.

Although like many Reggae artists they exalt the memory of Marcus Garvey and the use of marijuana, the political concerns of Soul Syndicate are centered on ending the racial and economic oppression of Jamaicans and all black people. These politics are most clearly expressed in the title cut, in "Wicked A Go Feel It," "We Got Love," and especially in "Red, Gold, and Green," a stunning black nationalist anthem.

Harvest Uptown/Famine Downtown is the first album produced by Epiphany Records. Epiphany's founder, Warren Smith, also the manager of Soul Syndicate, told *In These Times* that the company will serve as an outlet for Jamaican musicians outside the confines of the corporate record industry. Epiphany is intended to be a departure from the inequitable business practices that characterize the Jamaican recording industry. Musicians and singers like Soul Syndicate have been paid as little as 25 cents per tune and have never received royalties for their work. Nearly all labor on *Harvest Uptown/Famine Downtown* has been voluntary because of limited funding. Royalties from the sale of this album will go to the members of the band.

The main obstacle facing Soul Syndicate is the problem of distribution. Unlike the corporate giants which can lose money selling as many as 100,000 copies of an album, Epiphany can get by on sales of 15,000-20,000 copies of each album it produces. Its task is to build an "underground" reputation for Soul Syndicate that can overcome the new com-

pany's small financial resources.
—Bruce Dancis
Bruce Dancis writes regularly for *In These Times*.

SECOND HONEYMOON/ DON'T STOP THE WORLD

By Deaf School
Warner Brothers Records

Since this group's debut with a double album, plus two single releases, to which audience response has not been as good as it should be, Warners has been trying to fit Deaf School into some identifiable niche. Classifying them as the Monty Python of the rock world would be a start—until you realize how hard it is to define the Pythons. At any rate, Deaf School's English lunacy sails high above the pretentious "art rock" label stuck on them by copy-writers and critics.

This double album veers from tightly arranged rock to ballads of middle-class failures in love and business. Most impressive is the group's self-deprecation, set within a frame of acute intellectual awareness. *Second Honeymoon* is a series of put-ons, put-downs, and mock serious melodramatic fictions—always backed by inspired musician-ship.

Any group that can bridge musical traditions as disparate as the German cabaret of the '30s, British night clubs of the late '40s and mainstream popular music of the present and make it all work to their advantage deserves a hearing. Call them art-historians if you like, but their music is neither stuffy nor academic. You can enjoy it without labels. But it's fun to try to label the Deaf School because it forces you to keep track of their continuing, eclectic adventures.

—Joe Heumann
Joe Heumann writes regularly for *In These Times*.

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TELEVISION

Soaping up for the new woman

Problems of right and wrong never dreamed of by Stella Dallas

It's always been easy to write off soap operas as corny and preposterous, fare only for the old, the sick or the demented. But the fact is that just about everyone who's ever been female and/or home a lot has been part of their audience. We may not like to admit it, but they helped us learn to be wives and mothers, and once we made it, they helped us get through the day.

The appeal of the soaps is worth analyzing. Conservative as they have always been, they project an image of women and women's work that has considerable social significance. And recent changes in the image have made that truer than ever.

Before we consider the changes, let's review the standard format within which the changes have taken place. First of all, the serials are and have always been heavy-handed propaganda for the nuclear family. Stories and commercials alike present family life as the most meaningful and rewarding thing next to organized religion. And women's contribution to family life (cooking, cleaning, nursing and worrying) is thus the mainstay of western civilization.

Women stay glued to their sets, absorbing this unreal projection of their experience, because the programs make their concerns seem terribly important. Every crucial event, decision and conflict takes place in a home (and more often than not, in the kitchen). Lawyers leave the courtroom, business magnates leave multimillion dollar negotiations—to rush home and attend to the latest domestic crisis, which invariably is geared to the real concerns of women. Since emotional fulfillment and family responsibility—women's concerns—are also the highest values of domestic life, the most acute crises occur when these are threatened.

Sexual relationships are the chief dramatic staple. (Characters rotate partners endlessly.) Illnesses come next in popularity. (Every soap has at least one major character who is critically ill.) Third in order of importance are crimes against individuals and natural catastrophes. In all cases, crisis and tragedy is viewed as strictly personal or accidental, and the causes or solutions of problems never involve social or economic forces.

The range of characters is limited. Almost all the men are doctors or lawyers, with an occasional police chief or millionaire thrown in for variety. The women are wives and mothers, even the women doctors. Actually, hospitals in daytime TV are really just stages on which the largest number of characters in a given human drama can be plausibly assembled. Social or professional issues rarely intrude.

The world in which these personal crisis-dramas take place is as simplistic as it is reactionary. Everyone lives in an elegant and spotless home, has a beautifully middle-class lifestyle and is always perfectly groomed and dressed to the nines. There are no class differences of any importance. There are poor people and criminals, but they are defined by their moral condition,



Above, Nancy consoles Nichol after the murder of her husband (*Edge of Night*). Below, left to right, Joe and wife face a family crisis (*One Life to Live*); no reconciliation for Mary and Jack (*Ryan's Hope*); Steve and Deborah discuss a mystery (*Edge of Night*).

not by their economic or social status. All behavior is, in fact, morally motivated. Everyone is either "a good person" or a "bad one."

Finally, the magic ingredient—what makes the soap opera so enduringly and universally popular—is love, love, love. These are fairy tales of our culture, built on the need women have to be loved, appreciated and rewarded for what they are and what they do. In the soaps, every doctor, lawyer, merchant and chief thinks and acts solely for the benefit of a woman he loves—an appealing variation from what most of us have come to expect from sexual relationships in the U.S. today.

So what else is new?

Now all of the above is—or has been—formula for most of the daytime network serials since the days of *Stella Dallas* and *One Man's Family* (on radio). But the world—especially woman's world—has been changing pretty rapidly of late, and in the last year or so the soaps

have begun to take notice of some of the changes.

Having spent a couple of weeks this summer checking out developments, I've been surprised at the ingenuity with which the script writers have adapted to the new image of women and what they can and should be doing. The ideals of motherhood and family life are as primary as ever. But the obstacles to living happily ever after in that context are obvious, and the resultant tensions are reflected in virtually every series. Women have lots more choices all of a sudden, and that makes for problems of "right and wrong" never dreamed of by Stella Dallas.

For a while it seemed that every channel I tuned to was dead set on demolishing some old taboo. At least three different shows were dealing with older woman/younger man relationships in a positive (or at least a neutral) way. Real conflicts between a woman's career and her marriage were common, with the demands of

the career being taken quite seriously. And these were the tamer themes.

The Young and the Restless has given extensive treatment to the subject of rape from a decidedly feminist perspective. Two different shows at least flirted with the subject of lesbianism, which was defended by "respectable" characters. There was a custody case in which the possibility of the father's being the better parent was pushed pretty hard. The question of wife-beating was a major theme on *Days of Our Lives*, with a central character taking a very hard line in encouraging her friend to leave her husband although giving the advice jeopardized her own relationship with her husband.

It's clear that the ideas of the women's movement have had an enormous impact on women and on the media. After all, daytime TV exists to sell products to women in the home. (The sponsors are still the same: soaps, furniture polish, convenience foods, and other

mother's helpers.) But women are a lot more sophisticated than they used to be. And for that matter, so are TV writers. So although women—and men—still need to believe in the possibility of stability, love and personal fulfillment, the old *Ozzie and Harriet* idea of Dad at the office, Mom in the kitchen, and the kids on the phone is ringing more and more hollow. Everyone knows that the fabric of family life, and the ideal of rigid sex roles is breaking down.

And so, we have a dilemma for the writers and producers of daytime soaps: how to push the values of conventional family life and still retain some semblance of credibility and interest for a primarily female audience. My guess is it's going to get more and more difficult, and in the end the desires of women for dignity and autonomy will win out over their desire for a shiny kitchen floor.

—Elayne Rapping
Elayne Rapping is a free-lance writer in Pittsburgh.

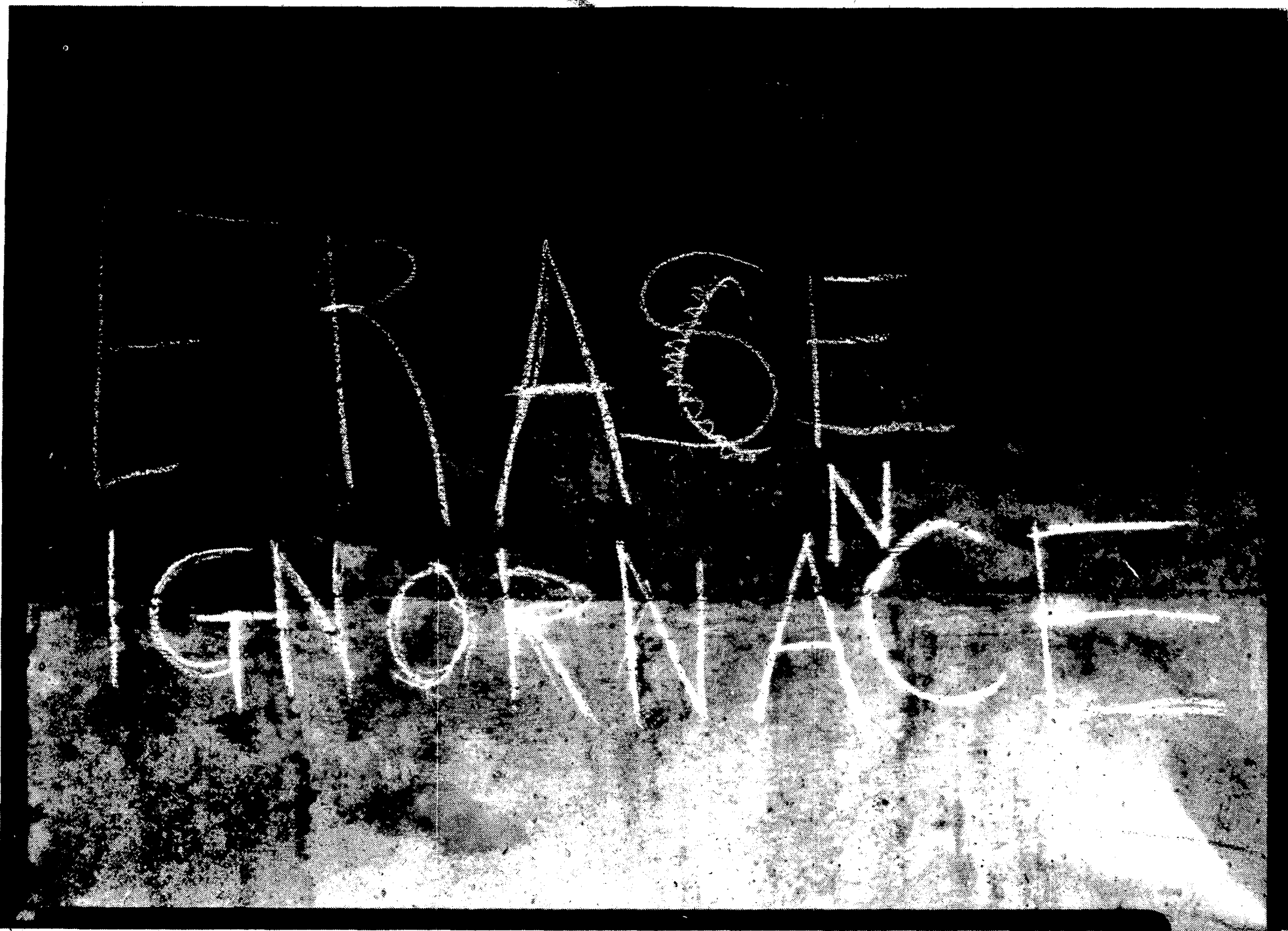


Photo by Christopher Irion

Suing the schools for malpractice

By Nat Hentoff
Pacific News Service

Edward Donohue is an amiable 19-year-old who was graduated from Long Island's Copiague Senior High School in June 1976. But Edward had great difficulty comprehending his diploma because he cannot read beyond a fourth-grade level.

The plight of Edward Donohue is not rare: the National Center for Education Statistics estimates that 346,000 new graduates—11 percent of June 1977 high school graduates—are functionally illiterate.

The majority are blacks, Hispanics, Chicanos and poor whites. But not all. Edward Donohue, for example, is from a white middle-class Long Island family.

What makes Donohue different is that he is suing his school system for educational malpractice. He wants \$5 million for what may be a lifelong disability.

"I look at the want ads to find a job," he says, "and I can't read them."

If Donohue wins, there could well be an avalanche of educational malpractice suits throughout the nation. And Donohue may have a persuasive case.

In the early grades his mother kept asking teachers to get extra help for her son because his reading difficulties were already obvious. She was promised such help regularly, she says, but her son never received it. Nor was he ever given psychological tests for possible learning disabilities. And even though he failed English in his sophomore and junior years, Edward was routinely promoted.

Donohue's lawyer, Sidney Sybon, says the case is based on the alleged negligence of the school system and on the issue of a broken contract.

"Mrs. Donohue and her husband pay

taxes and they are charged a substantial sum of money each year for the education of their children," says Sybon. "They claim that during all those years they paid education taxes, there was an implied promise that the school system would educate their son. This was not done."

Millions of similar cases.

Should the doctrine of educational malpractice become law, millions of youngsters might have similar cause for action. The National Assessment of Educational Progress estimates that one in eight high school graduates can't read well enough to make out a simple traffic sign.

James Harris, former president of the National Education Association, told a Senate subcommittee two years ago that 23 percent of all schoolchildren were failing to get through high school.

"If 23 percent of the automobiles did not run," Harris said, "23 percent of the buildings fell down, 23 percent of the stuffed ham spoiled—we'd look at the producer. The schools, here, are not blameless."

But so far most schools have escaped blame. In a 1972 San Francisco case, a Peter Doe sued for fraud on the grounds that, though promoted every year, he was reading on a fifth-grade level when he received his high school diploma.

He lost his case when the courts held there are so many intangibles involved in why some people learn and some do not that the schools cannot be held responsible.

But in another case a 23-year-old Queens, N.Y. man won a \$750,000 settlement against the board of education. (The verdict is being appealed.) He had

been labeled retarded at age four and was not retested for 15 years, during which he was forced to attend classes for the retarded.

If Edward Donohue wins his case, involving a much more common but harder to prove kind of negligence—that his learning problems were overlooked by teachers and administrators—the country's educators may be called to account for malpractice just like other professionals.

Teachers cover for each other.

In Donohue's case even the regional director of the New York State United Teachers union concedes privately that teachers and administrators tend to cover for one another's incompetence.

Asked why Donohue was routinely promoted each year when he could barely read, the union official contended, "The superintendent doesn't like too many red marks on the records. If a lot of kids are failing, he doesn't look good. So he'll return grade sheets to teachers if there are too many failures. That's why Edward was promoted year after year."

His contention was confirmed by certain teachers at Copiague High School who wished to remain anonymous. They claimed there is an unwritten rule that no more than 15 percent of a teacher's grades could be failures.

The educational malpractice suits are only one route being explored by education critics concerned with making school professionals more accountable. Others are looking at the system of professional tenure, which some claim is the key reason that educators can evade their responsibility.

Once having passed a three to five

year probationary period, a teacher is almost immune from being fired. Those permanent tenure laws, coupled with strong unions, make it so time-consuming and costly to try to get an educator dismissed for cause that many administrators have given up trying.

Esther Rothman, a Manhattan public school principal, charges in her new book, *Troubled Teachers*, that "tenure has kept thousands of teachers in the classroom who should not be teaching. Tenure, in effect, has put teachers in a position of holding on to their jobs for life."

Some states have attacked the system by giving educators "continuing" certificates rather than "life" certificates. These require that tenure be reviewed every three or five years.

A similar method was proposed in a bill to the New York State Senate recently. It called for teachers and principals—excepting those already tenured—to receive tenure for only five years at a time. At the end of that period, depending on the quality of teaching and administration, tenure could be renewed for another five years.

The bill failed in the last term, but author Sen. Fred Eckert promises to keep pushing it. "It will take time," he says, "but the concept of renewable tenure is going to prevail . . . It may not be next year, but this bill is the way most people, especially most parents, want to go. It's only a matter of lighting the torches."

Nat Hentoff is a longtime staff writer for the *Village Voice* newspaper, where a longer version of this article first appeared. He is the author of *Does Anybody Give a Damn?* (Knopf, 1977).